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**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MAYAS  
AND THE LACANDONES**





8

# Archaeological Institute of America

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REPORT OF THE FELLOW IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY  
1902-1905

8

## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MAYAS AND THE LACANDONES

BY  
ALFRED M. TOZZER, PH.D.



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## PREFACE

THE following report is based upon the field work carried on principally in Yucatan and Chiapas, Mexico, during the years 1902, 1903, 1904, and 1905 as Fellow in American Archæology of the Institute. A more detailed account of the exact time and places where the work was undertaken may be found in the brief reports that I have given each year to the Committee of American Archæology and published in the Supplements to the *American Journal of Archæology*, Vols. VI, VII, VIII, and IX.

The report is entirely ethnological in character. The former Maya culture is touched upon only in relation to that found at the present time. Where there is any connection between the two this has been brought out, but no attempt has been made to sketch any phase of the ancient culture.

The linguistic part of the report is not included in the present volume. As it forms a unit in itself, it will be published as a separate contribution. It will include a treatment of the Maya grammar together with a comparative study of the Maya, Tzeltal, Chol, and Chontal dialects of the Maya stock.

I desire at this time to express my appreciation and thanks to the three original members of the Committee on American Archæology, Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, Chairman, Professor F. W. Putnam, and Professor Franz Boas. To Mr. Bowditch, through whose initiative and aid the Traveling Fellowship in American Archæology was founded, and to Professor Putnam, both of whom have given unsparingly of their time in advice and counsel both before and during the four years of the Fellowship, and to Dr. Boas, who has been of great aid in his advice on the linguistic side of the work, I am deeply grateful.

I owe special thanks to Mr. Edward H. Thompson, American Consul at Progreso, Yucatan, for the many weeks spent on

his delightful plantation at Chichen Itza, and to Mr. and Mrs. W. M. James of Merida for their many acts of kindness. To Don Audomaro Molina and Don David Casares and their families, I am grateful for an insight into the life of the capital of Yucatan.

My actual field work would have been doubly arduous but for the kind attentions and hospitality of friends connected with many of the large mahogany companies in southern Chiapas. The *Compañía Mexicana Sud-Oriental* of Belgium through Mr. Luis Pelegrinni, Mr. Robert Herzog, and Mr. Alfonso Altés; the American Trading Company of New York through Mr. Pedro V. Rubio and Mr. D. N. Carrington; the *Compañía Romano* of San Juan Bautista, Chiapas, through Don Roman Romano, the Vice President, and Don Domingo Morgadanes; and the Bulnes Company, also of San Juan, through Don Enrique and Don Quentin Bulnes, have all placed many facilities of travel at my disposal.

This is not the time and place to enlarge upon the obligations I feel myself under to each and every one of the persons named, in addition to a large number of others. It is always a regret that the conditions of the country are such that, in many cases, one is compelled to accept hospitality and favors which he can never hope to repay.

A. M. T.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,  
June, 1906.

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## KEY TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF MAYA WORDS

The vowels and consonants have their continental sounds with the following exceptions:—

- ä like *u* in hut
- ai like *i* in island
- k (Beltran's *c*) ordinary palatal *k*
- q (Beltran's *k*) velar *k*
- ɸ (Beltran's *o*) *ts* explosive or fortis
- o (Beltran's *tx*) *ts* non-explosive
- š (Beltran's *x*) like *sh* in hush
- tš (Beltran's *ch*) like *ch* in church
- tš (Beltran's *ch*) *ch* explosive
- p (Beltran's *pp*) *p* explosive
- t (Beltran's *th*) *t* explosive



## INTRODUCTION

THE Mayas of Yucatan and the Lacandones of Chiapas, Mexico, and the upper Usumacinta River both belong to the same branch of the great Maya-Quiche linguistic stock. There is no distinction made between the people of these two localities when they are taken in connection with those of the less closely allied branches of this linguistic family, the Quiche, the Chol, the Tzeltal, the Mam, the Pokom, and the Huasteca groups. The Mayas of Yucatan together with the Lacandones are usually designated as forming the Maya proper, and I shall limit myself in this study to a consideration of this group alone.

The Maya of Yucatan and the Lacandone are separated only by a slight dialectical difference. This is now about the only common ground on which to judge the people of the two localities. A comparison of the life and customs of the two sections affords a most striking example of the effect of Spanish contact upon a portion of a once homogeneous people, one part having lived in close and intimate relations with Spanish influences since the time of the Conquest, and the other entirely free from all close contact with the Spanish-Mexican element of the population.

In speaking of the Maya of Yucatan, the typical native of the country will be considered, not a resident of one of the large towns or cities, but the Maya who lives in one of the small Indian *pueblos* scattered everywhere throughout the peninsula. In the eastern section of Yucatan, there was to be found not long ago what one might call the pure Yucatan Maya. In the southernmost sections of the peninsula, he still exists.

In eastern and southern Yucatan there are three different settlements of Mayas which are practically independent. The Mayas occupying the eastern portion of the peninsula have

never been completely conquered by the Mexican troops sent against them. The last general uprising was in 1847. The stronghold of the *sublevados bravos* (fighting insurgents) was called Chan Santa Cruz. This was destroyed by the Mexican troops and the site is now occupied by them as a camp. The Indians live in the bush and keep up a guerrilla warfare with the Mexicans sent against them even up to the present time. Travel in this portion of the peninsula, unless one is accompanied by a detachment of Mexican soldiers, is dangerous, owing to the untrustworthiness of these Indians and to their fear of allowing a Mexican spy to ascertain their true condition. Mr. Sapper<sup>1</sup> estimates these Indians formerly to have numbered about forty thousand and now to be not more than a fourth of this number.

In the southern portion of the peninsula of Yucatan, west of Belize and north of Peten, there are two practically independent Indian states, that of Ixkanha in central Yucatan, which has intercourse with Campeche to the westward, and that of Icaiche farther to the south, which carries on trade relations with Orange Walk in British Honduras. These states, according to Sapper,<sup>1</sup> number respectively eight thousand and five hundred. They were formerly in league with the Indians of Chan Santa Cruz, but in 1853 they made a treaty with the Mexican government, thus arousing the hatred of their former allies. These two Indian states have full independence in internal affairs, and they in turn recognize the authority of Mexico, and their officers have nominally to be confirmed by the central government of Mexico. These people stand halfway between the civilized Mayas to the northward and the Lacandones to the south. I have no personal knowledge of these Indians, and they will not be considered in the following report.

For my comparison, I shall take the Lacandone as he is

<sup>1</sup> Sapper, 1895, pp. 197-201; 1904, pp. 623-624. I have availed myself of this article for the greater part of the facts in the account above. [Articles are referred to by date and the titles may be found in the bibliography at the end.]

found to-day, unchanged and untrammelled by Spanish contact, and the Maya proper of Yucatan, a being now essentially Mexican, but still retaining, however, his native dress, language, general mode of living, and fundamental ideas concerning religion.

The term "Maya" will be used as meaning, not the people linguistically considered and taken as a whole, but simply the native population of Yucatan. I shall touch upon the ancient culture of the Mayas only as it is shown as surviving among the people of the present time.

Both the Mayas and the Lacandones call themselves *mas-séwal*. This comes from the Nahuatl word *masehualli* (plural *masehualtin*), meaning the lower class of working people. This name is thought by some to have been given to those of the inhabitants who originally come from Mexico. It is now applied to all the natives of the country without distinction. The white people of the land know the Indians of the peninsula as Mayas and the Lacandones as Caribes. This later name is of course inappropriate, as the inhabitants of Chiapas have no connection with the tribe commonly known as Caribes, which was originally found in northern South America.

The name "Lacandone" has been given to the natives of Chiapas and the upper Usumacinta River by writers to distinguish them from the Mayas proper of Yucatan. The name is probably a debased form for Lacantun, which means, in Maya, great or massive rocks. The form *ton* is used for *tun* in several dialects of the Maya, and we would then have Lacanton. The surd *t* may easily have been mistaken for the sonant *d*. Mistakes in mixing the surd and sonant are common in the native place names as recorded by the Spaniards. The term "Lacantun" is still found in its correct form in the name of one of the rivers flowing into the upper Usumacinta, on which settlements of this people are found. It has seemed best to retain the name Lacandone as designating the people about whom we are to speak. This is done in order to avoid confusion, inas-



much as most of the early Spanish authorities use this form of the word, although it has no derivation in Maya. Mr. Seler considers that the right term is Acandon, as used by Alonso Ponce in 1586.<sup>1</sup> This name would be derived from *acan*, to groan or to thunder, and *tun* or *ton*, stone. Mr. Seler further suggests that the term may also have been applied to an idol. Stephens speaks of the Candones or "unbaptized Indians who live as their fathers did."<sup>2</sup> These were in all probability the same people as the present-day Lacandones.

Early historians when speaking of the Mayas in general always include the Lacandones and the Itzas, who inhabited the country around Lake Peten in Guatemala. At that time, all three people had practically the same language, religion, and customs. After the conquest of the Itzas in 1697, the province was held only by a small garrison of Mexican troops for over half a century, when it was finally made into a criminal colony. The people now inhabiting this portion of the country around Lake Peten are a peaceful, quiet lot, and are more Mexican in character than Maya.

The Lacandones inhabit the territory to the south of Tenosique, Tabasco, and west of the Usumacinta River in the state of Chiapas, the country drained by the rivers Lacantum and Lacanha, which unite with the Chixoy, or Salinas, to form the Usumacinta. The country of the Lacandones is crossed and recrossed by rivers and streams, thus furnishing an abundant water supply. The soil is fertile owing to the many rivers and the dense tropical vegetation. There are several large lakes in the territory occupied by the Lacandones.

Many of the early writers and some even down to within a comparatively few years ago have made a twofold division of the Lacandones, — the eastern Lacandones, living on the Rio de la Pasion and east of the Usumacinta, a harmless agricultural people who spoke Maya; and the western Lacandones who spoke Chol or Putum, a dialect of the Maya stock.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Seler, 1901, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Stephens, 1841, Vol. II, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Berendt, 1867, p. 425.

Lacandones of Lake Petha, who would naturally belong to the western division, do not speak Chol, but Maya and a Maya differing very slightly from that spoken in Yucatan, as will be shown in the linguistic part of this study. This former classification has broken down, and there is no longer any reason to suppose that there is a body of Lacandones speaking the Chol dialect of the Maya stock.<sup>1</sup> In the names of a few of the gods worshiped by the Lacandones at the present time, and in the painting of the face during some of the religious rites, there seems to be some slight variation as one travels from the east to the west. This may point to some original difference in the composition of the people.

As far as could be ascertained both from observation and inquiries, there seem to be no large settlements of this people in any part of the country. They are very much disseminated, living in small family groups, each with its animal totem. As far as I know, there is only one family of Lacandones living near the banks of the Usumacinta River, and also only a single family on the lower Lacantun. Within the last five years the whole country has been overrun with mahogany cutters, and their canoes are constantly passing up and down the rivers. As a consequence of this intrusion, the Lacandones have pressed back farther into the interior and have made their homes on the smaller streams flowing into the Usumacinta and Lacantun.

Concerning their number, one hesitates in giving even an estimate, inasmuch as they are scattered over so wide a range of country. Mr. Sapper is nearer the truth, it seems to me, in his earlier statement, in which he places the number of Lacandones as between two hundred and three hundred.<sup>2</sup> In a later publication<sup>3</sup> he places the number at five hundred, although he questions the accuracy of this numeration.

<sup>1</sup> Seler (1895, pp. 21-53; 1904, pp. 75-122) speaks of a letter he received from Mr. Sapper denying the fact of a western body of Lacandones speaking Chol. Mr. Sapper also states that the Lacandones who held out so successfully against the constant expeditions sent against them by the Spaniards spoke the Maya proper in part at least.

<sup>2</sup> Sapper, 1897, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1904, a, p. 9.

The Mayas, on the other hand, may be numbered by the tens of thousands. Brinton estimates the number of pure Mayas as two hundred thousand and those of mixed blood as numbering one hundred thousand.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sapper estimates the number of Mayas in Yucatan, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, Peten, and British Honduras as three hundred thousand.<sup>2</sup> Whole villages and cities in Yucatan are composed entirely of Mayas. In the eastern section until a very few years ago, as has been stated, they held undisputed control.

The country occupied by both these dialects of the Maya stock furnishes the inhabitants with game of all kinds and many fruits and vegetables which grow wild.

Both the Lacandones and the Mayas are inherently a moral people. They have a certain code of conduct and live up to that with great faithfulness. The family life of the Lacandones is both simple and pure. Polygyny is practiced. When the men are not engaged in hunting and fishing, they are busy in the observances of their religious ceremonies, carried on before their incense-burners in behalf of the family gods. The main object of these rites is to cure diseases and to avert evils.

The family life of the Maya proper is for the most part good. The Mexican looseness in this respect, as in many others, has come in to take the place of the simple and natural conditions formerly existing. The natives of the cities and towns naturally feel more heavily the effect of the contact with these new influences.

The religion of the Lacandone is clearly a survival of that described by the early historians as existing throughout Yucatan at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. In the peninsula at the present time, owing to the influence of the energetic Spanish priests and missionaries, there is existing a nominal Catholic religion. In the less populated districts, however, the fundamental religious ideas of the natives savor greatly of the former religion of the country. There are, moreover, rites still carried on which are native in character.

<sup>1</sup> Brinton, 1882, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Sapper, 1904, *a*, p. 9.

## HISTORY

THE Mayas in all probability are not indigenous in Yucatan. The myths and early historians tell of a twofold migration into Yucatan in the earliest times, one from the east, or more exactly from the southeast, and the other from the west or southwest.<sup>1</sup> The migration from the east was much less numerous than that from the west. Brinton identifies the eastern arrival as a sun myth, but the other is supported by the chronicles of the Mayas, and certainly has some historical importance.<sup>2</sup> If we accept the idea of the two migrations, we can assume that they were composed of people of the same stock, possessing the same language, customs, and religion. The situation of the ruins in Yucatan and the country to the southward seems to give weight to the idea of a twofold migration. There is a line of ruined cities stretching southeast into Honduras and another to the southwest toward the River Champoton.

The eastern migration is supposed to have had among its members the culture hero, Zamna, or Itzamna, to whom is ascribed the invention of the characters used by the early Mayas in writing.

After many years of wandering, Chichen Itza became the headquarters of this eastern migration.

At a later date the second and westerly migration from Tabasco and Champoton took place under the command of the Tutul-Xius.

According to the early chronicles, the Chanes, or Itzas, who had founded Chichen Itza, also established at a later date settlements at Izamal and T-ho, the present site of the city of Merida.

Chichen Itza was governed by three brothers, one of whom

<sup>1</sup> Molina, 1896, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Brinton, 1882, p. 20.

absented himself from the kingdom. The remaining two became tyrannical, internal discord broke out, and civil war resulted. Chichen Itza was finally abandoned, and, after many years of wandering, the Itzas established themselves in Chan-Peten.<sup>1</sup> Here there was prosperity for many years. For some motive not clearly shown, a move was made to the northward and the city of Mayapan founded. At the same time war was made against the *Caciques* of Izamal and Motul with the aid of the Xius, who had come from the southwest and founded the city of Uxmal at a time previous to the settlement of Mayapan.

It was in *ahan* two of the Maya chronology that the famous confederation was made among the cities of Uxmal, Izamal, Mayapan, and Chichen Itza, which had been reestablished after the return of the Itzas from the south. It was probably during this confederation, which lasted over two hundred years, that Kukulcan came to Yucatan from the southwest. According to the early accounts, he brought the ideas of religion found existing among the Mayas at the time of the Conquest. After he had seen his ideas carried out, he departed as mysteriously as he had come.

Civil war broke out immediately after the withdrawal of Kukulcan, between the cities of Chichen Itza and Mayapan. Izamal espoused the cause of Chichen Itza. The leader of Mayapan called to his aid the Nahuas, who had settlements in Tabasco. With the help of this foreign force, Chichen and finally Izamal fell under the power of Mayapan.

The ruling power at Mayapan fell to the house of Cocomes. Owing to the tyranny of one of the kings of this family, the Tutul-Xius, who up to this time had not joined against Mayapan, made an uprising which was entered into by the former inhabitants of Chichen and Izamal. The city of Mayapan and the power of the Cocomes were destroyed. A son alone was saved by being absent from the city at the time of the uprising.

<sup>1</sup> Brinton, 1882, p. 96.

On the return of this surviving member of the family of the Cocomes, his followers gathered around him and they founded the city of Tibulon in the district of Zotuta.

One of the former priests of Mayapan was the founder of the family of Cheles in the district of Izamal. The Tutul-Xius founded a new capital at Mani. After the destruction of Mayapan, Yucatan was divided for the most part among the three families of the Xius, the Cocomes, and the Cheles, among whom there existed the most intense hatred. There was a state of constant warfare.

This, briefly, is the history of Yucatan up to the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. The accounts are often conflicting, and there are many places where the myths and the early chronicles are silent.

In 1502 on the fourth and last voyage of Columbus, when the expedition was in the Gulf of Honduras, an Indian canoe was encountered which had probably put out from the shores of Yucatan. This was the first news in Europe of the existence of Yucatan.

In 1506 two of the companions of Columbus set out to investigate the former vague reports. They were in the Gulf of Honduras, and, "turning to the northward, discovered a great part of Yucatan."<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1511 Geronimo de Aguilar and Valdivia were shipwrecked on the coast of Yucatan. Valdivia and four of the sailors were, according to the early accounts, sacrificed by the natives of the country and afterward eaten. Aguilar and another companion, Guerrero, who were reserved until a later time, managed to escape into the country to the southward.

In 1517 Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba set sail from Cuba for Yucatan. He touched first at the Isla de Las Mujeres and then sailed round the northern side of the peninsula and to the south as far as Campeche. The natives stoutly resisted the Spaniards at every opportunity. In the following year the governor of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, sent Juan de Grijalva to

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, 1601-1615, Dec. I, Libro VI, Cap. XVII.

the new land. Francisco de Montejo, who later played a great part in the history of the country, accompanied this expedition, as well as Bernal Diaz del Castillo. They landed at Cozumel, and they, also, went around the north of the peninsula and down the western side to Tabasco.

In 1519 Hernando Cortes set sail in company with Montejo to take possession of Yucatan in the name of Spain. They rounded Cape Catoche and landed at Cozumel. They finally retraced their course and went to Tabasco and the Boca del Terminos. The Indians often showed great courage in their resistance to the advance of the Spaniards.

In the year 1526 Montejo, who had accompanied both Grijalva and Cortes, came to Yucatan with his son. The former was the first *Adelantado* of the country under a grant from the king of Spain. After great difficulty, he made a settlement at Chichen Itza, which, later, he was compelled to abandon on account of the hostility of the natives. In 1535 he was finally driven from the country. In 1540, however, after a long struggle, he conquered part of Campeche. About this time he delegated all his powers to his son, who returned to Yucatan and conquered it again in behalf of the king.

In 1542 the city of Merida was founded on the site of the native Maya settlement of T-ho, and Valladolid was made an encampment in the following year. In 1546 an Indian insurrection broke out, and the Spaniards in Valladolid were murdered almost to a man.<sup>1</sup>

There was no large attempt made at Christianizing the natives until the year 1546, when one hundred and fifty missionaries were sent over from Spain. It was in this year that Bartolome de Las Casas arrived at Campeche. He was one of the earliest of the historians of the country. Villalpando settled at about this time at Campeche, where he founded a convent, and later at Merida, where another convent was established.

In the year 1548 the province of Yucatan was made subject to Mexico.

<sup>1</sup> Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. V.

About 1551 Diego de Landa was sent to Yucatan as a missionary (Pl. I). Twenty years later he was made Bishop of Merida. He took energetic measures to exterminate the native religion and convert the Mayas to Christianity. His book, entitled "Relacion de Las Cosas de Yucatan," is one of the few authorities from which a start can be made in studying the calendar system of the early Mayas. His account of the customs and ceremonies of the natives at the time of the Conquest is the best that we possess.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a companion of Cortes, is another historian who wrote in this century. His accounts are generally considered more truthfully drawn than those of his master.

The first half of the seventeenth century is marked by the number of Spaniards who visited Yucatan and the country to the south. They returned and wrote full accounts of the history of the country and of their travels. Many of these men came to Yucatan and Tabasco as missionaries. Antonio de Remesal was a *visitador* of the Dominican order from 1613 to 1617. While in Central America, he wrote his "Historia de las Provincias de Chiapa y Guatemala."<sup>1</sup> Antonio de Herrera was an historian under Philip II of Spain. In the first quarter of the century, he wrote a work entitled "Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar Oceano." Diego Lopez de Cogolludo, a Spanish Franciscan, spent the second quarter of the century in Yucatan. His "Historia de Yucatan" is the best authority on the early history of the country down to 1655. Torquemada and Lizana were other historians who belonged to this century.

Since that time Yucatan has been taken up, more or less at length, in all the histories of Mexico and many of those of Central America. The best of the more recent books is one written by a native of Yucatan, Don Juan F. Molina y Solis, "Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de Yucatan con una reseña de la historia antigua." A second volume has lately

<sup>1</sup> No attempt at bibliographical fullness has been made in the works noted.



been published, bringing the history down to the end of the sixteenth century. Later volumes will follow, bringing the work down to the present time.

In regard to the history of the Lacandones, we know very little. The people of Peten are supposed to have come from the north at the first appearance of the Spaniards. In 1525 Cortes made his famous journey through Tabasco, Chiapas, and Guatemala to Honduras. The Indians whom he describes inhabiting this territory were undoubtedly Lacandones.

In the year 1537 Las Casas and Pedro de Angulo set out to Christianize the Indians of the *Tierra de Guerra*, now known as Vera Paz, part of the territory through which Cortes had passed on his way to Honduras. The missionaries realized that as long as the Indians lived scattered through the country, the work of conversion would be slow. They endeavored, therefore, to gather the natives into towns. This they succeeded in doing only in part.

The Lacandones seem to have resisted all the attempts at Christianization. In 1555 they, together with the natives of Acalan, slew with their arrows two priests and thirty of the Indians of Vera Paz who had yielded to the teachings of the missionaries.<sup>1</sup>

Four years later a determined attempt was made against the Lacandones. The expedition set out from Comitlan, reached the settlements of the Indians, and drove all before them. The victory was not followed up, however, and no definite results of submission were accomplished.

Various attempts were made at about this time to conquer "the powerful tribe" of the Itzas, whose stronghold was on an island in Lake Peten in Guatemala. In 1618 two missionaries left Merida for Peten, from which, two years later, they barely escaped with their lives.<sup>2</sup> Two years after this a Franciscan went from Bacalar to Peten, where he was treacherously put to

<sup>1</sup> Villagutierre, 1701, Bk. I, Chap. IX, X.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1701, Bk. II, Chaps. II, III.

death.<sup>1</sup> Again, in 1646, another vain attempt was made, this time from Campeche and up the Usumacinta River.

In 1675 and again ten years later, more successful attempts at Christianizing the Choles were made, but all endeavors to conquer the Lacandones met with failure.

In the year 1695 a combined effort was made to conquer these Indians. One expedition moved from the province of Vera Paz, another from Gueguetenango, and a third under the command of Barrios from Ocosingo.<sup>2</sup> The last two expeditions met at a place called Dolores. Here an effort was made to found a town of Lacandones; but gradually, family by family, they slipped away until even the site of the town has long since disappeared. In 1696 all the expeditions from the south were abandoned.

Don Martin de Ursua had come forward with a plan to build a military road from Merida through the country of the Lacandones to Santiago de Guatemala. He was made acting governor of Yucatan during the absence of the governor in Mexico, and thus he was able to make a start toward carrying out his plan. After the failure of several of the leaders whom he had sent against the Itzas of Peten, Ursua decided to take the field in person. In 1697 he left Campeche. After a hard struggle, he captured the stronghold of the Itzas on an island in Lake Peten. Two years after, owing to internal discords, the settlement at Peten was abandoned and General Ursua returned to Yucatan.

Various vain attempts were made to Christianize the Lacandones down to the beginning of the last century. Since that time they have been left completely to themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Cogolludo, 1688, p. 689.

<sup>2</sup> Villagutierre, 1701, Bk. IV, Chap. X, p. 249.

## HABITAT

THE Lacandones, concerning whom the writer has personal knowledge, live in the State of Chiapas, Mexico, principally along the waters of the upper Usumacinta River (Pl. II, Figs. 1 and 2) and the rivers Lacantun and Lacanha. These rivers unite with the Chixoy, or Salinas, to form the Usumacinta, which flows northward into the Gulf of Mexico. Concerning the Itzas of Guatemala, and especially those around and near Lake Peten, I have no personal knowledge. It is supposed that these people withdrew somewhere about 1550 from the northern part of the peninsula, owing to the approach of the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup> It was through the country of the Lacandones that Cortes passed on his arduous march from the Gulf of Mexico to Honduras.<sup>2</sup>

From Peten northward stretches the main body of Mayas proper, occupying the whole peninsula of Yucatan. The inhabitants of the state of Campeche are sometimes excluded from the Mayas proper, as the dialect of the Maya spoken by them varies slightly, as does that of the Lacandones, from that spoken throughout the rest of the peninsula.

The territory occupied by both the Lacandones and the

<sup>1</sup> Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. IV, Chap. XIV, p. 507: "Estos Indios Itzaex son de nacimiento Yucathècos y originarios de esta tierra de Yucathan, y assi hablan la misma lengua Maya que ellos. Dizese, que salieron del territorio y jurisdiccion que oyes de la Villa de Valladolid, y del Pueblo de Chichen Ytza, donde oy permanecé unos de los grandes edificios antiguos que se ven en esta tierra."

<sup>2</sup> This is described in his fifth letter to the king of Spain. It is impossible to follow accurately the march of Cortes step by step through this country, as there is no longer any trace of many of the names given either in his account or that of Bernal Diaz who accompanied him. The letters of Cortes are published in many places, as in Kingsborough, 1831-1841, Vol. VIII, p. 401 (see also Cortes, 1866). An English translation of the fifth letter was published by the Hakluyt Society, 1868.

Mayas is rich in archæological remains.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the ruins on the border between Guatemala and Honduras, the cities of Copan and Quirigua, there are few large centers of archæological interest not included within the country occupied by the Mayas and Lacandones. The ruined cities scattered over the entire northern part of the peninsula of Yucatan are in the same territory as that occupied by the Mayas proper. The ruins of Palenque are upon the northern and the ruins near Ocosingo in Chiapas on the western edge of the country occupied by the Lacandones, whereas the ruins along the Usumacinta River are in the very center of the territory occupied by this people. A large part of this latter region is practically unexplored. Mahogany hunters have traversed the whole area, and mounds and remains of ruined structures are constantly being reported throughout this territory of southern Chiapas and northern Guatemala.

The country <sup>2</sup> occupied by the people of the Maya stock to be considered may be regarded as continuous,<sup>3</sup> stretching, from the peninsula of Yucatan on the north, southward, including the department of Peten, Guatemala and the states of Chiapas and parts of Tabasco, Mexico. Just as the people of the north and south differ in customs, so also do the physical conditions of the two districts.

The peninsula of Yucatan is generally level, with slight elevations of not more than two hundred feet, due mainly to erosion. Owing to the formation of the country, the hydrographic conditions of Yucatan are peculiar. It is only in the extreme south of the peninsula that we find any rivers. The limestone formation, however, admits of numerous underground streams. Natural sinkholes, called in Spanish *cenotes*, after the Maya

<sup>1</sup> For the best general accounts of the Maya archæological remains, see Stephens, 1841, 1843; Charnay, 1887; Maudslay, 1889-1902; Holmes, 1895-1897; and Maler, 1901-1903.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of the geography of Yucatan, see Casares, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> The Huastecos, on the River Panuco, north of Vera Cruz, speak a dialect of the Maya, and they form the only exception to the fact of the continuity of the territory occupied by the Maya-speaking people.

word *oonot*,<sup>1</sup> are found everywhere throughout the peninsula (Pl. III, Fig. 1). The first settlements were made around these natural reservoirs. These *cenotes* may have underground connection with one another, although no current is perceptible in them. Water can be obtained at nearly every point in Yucatan if a well of sufficient depth is sunk.

A very thin layer of soil covers the generally level but rough base of limestone which crops out everywhere. The soil, owing to its shallowness, is not as fertile as that of Chiapas. For certain products, however, it is admirably fitted, especially for *henequen* or hemp. In central Yucatan there is one good-sized lake called Chichancanab. Further to the south, in the vicinity of Bacalar, there are a number of smaller lakes.<sup>2</sup>

The country to the south of Yucatan has features entirely different. The territory of Peten may be considered a plain, but the state of Chiapas, where the greater part of the Lacandones live, is mountainous. Mr. Sapper divides the mountainous territory into two parts, one composed of a chain of mountains and the other of a mountain mass.<sup>3</sup>

The territory occupied by the Lacandones is watered by

<sup>1</sup> Dr. L. J. Cole of Harvard University has been making a study of the water system of Yucatan. The results of these investigations will soon appear in print. Attention is especially called to a late paper by a Yucatan gentleman, Don David Casares, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> The best map of this region is that found in Sapper, 1896 and 1904, to which reference has been made. Mr. Sapper has traveled through a large portion of Yucatan.

Count Maurice de Périgny of the French Geographical Society has lately returned from a trip into the interior of Yucatan, and we may hope for an early report on this interesting territory.

<sup>3</sup> Sapper, 1897, p. 178: "Das Gebirgsland des nördlichen Mittelamerika scheidet sich in zwei schon landschaftlich leicht zu unterscheidende Abtheilungen; ein Kettengebirge in den nördlichen Theilen und ein Massengebirge in den südlichen Theilen des Gebirgslandes. Das hauptsächlich aus mesozoischen und tertiären Ablagerungen bestehende Kettengebirge des Staates Chiapas bildet aber keineswegs die unmittelbare Fortsetzung des Kettengebirges von Mittelguatemala. . . . Das Kettengebirge von Mittelguatemala besteht nur in seinen nördlichsten Bestandtheilen aus mesozoischen und tertiären Ablagerungen, während südlich davon eine paläozoische und dann einige archaische Ketten folgen."

many rivers.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the two main rivers, the Lacantun and the Lacanha, which unite with the Chixoy or Salinas to form the Usumacinta, there are a number of other good-sized rivers, together with a countless number of smaller streams and brooks which interlace the country. There are four large lakes included in the territory occupied by the Lacandones, Laguna Petha, Laguna Anaite, and Laguna Lacanha in the state of Chiapas and Laguna Peten in Guatemala, around which the famous Itzas once centered. These lakes, together with the rivers, assure a never-failing water supply, besides furnishing an abundance of fish and water fowl of many kinds.

The soil, often of considerable depth, is very fertile, owing to the large decay of vegetation and the many rivers. The waters of the lakes and of the larger rivers which have washed away the outer soil are highly saturated with lime, so that, in general, the settlements of the Lacandones are found on the smaller streams, in small *arroyos*, where the water has had no force to penetrate to the subsoil beneath. In traveling northward at right angles to the rivers flowing into the Usumacinta, which flows northward, one is constantly climbing one ridge only to descend again to the bed of a river and then up again over the watershed of the third.

The whole peninsula of Yucatan is of limestone formation, mainly tertiary but partially of the cretaceous period.<sup>2</sup> Overlying the older rock and shell conglomerate there is a soft limestone (Maya *tán*) in process of hardening. There is a still harder, whiter, and more compact stone (Maya *tōtunitā*).<sup>3</sup> Throughout the limestone formation, nodules of flint are found. This geological formation of lime furnishes an abundant supply of excellent building stone easily workable and admirably fitted for sculpture. This fact is noted in Yucatan and also in the country occupied by the Lacandones in the remains of ancient buildings and temples which have been described by travelers since

<sup>1</sup> For the best map of this region, see Maler, 1901-1903, Pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed study of the geological formation of Yucatan, see Casares, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> See p. xxi for a key to the pronunciation of the Maya words.

the earliest occupation of the country by the Spaniards. In Chiapas and Tabasco there is much igneous and sedimentary rock.

Owing to the trade winds, the mountainous portion of the territory — and, as I have said, this is the part occupied by the Lacandones — has a large precipitation, and is, as a consequence, heavily timbered. Yucatan, on the other hand, has not a sufficient elevation to retain the moisture from the trade winds of the north, and the mountains in the south collect all the moisture coming from the Pacific. The country is consequently very dry except in the regular rainy season. The forest growth on the peninsula is generally small and singularly even. Some early authorities account for this from the fact that, according to the earliest accounts, Yucatan was visited by a terrific hurricane which laid low all the vegetation.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the mountainous formation, the rainy season among the Lacandones is not sharply marked as in Yucatan. There, the season of rain lasts from May until September and the remainder of the year is very dry. In Chiapas the dry season is of much shorter duration. The rains continue until January or February, when they give place to a dry season interrupted by occasional showers from February to April, when the regular wet season begins.

The climate of Chiapas and the upper Usumacinta is generally not healthful. With care, however, places may be found on high land away from the river bottoms where one may live in comparative security from fevers. The climate seems to have a more noticeable effect on the Mexicans than upon the natives, who are generally healthy, owing, no doubt, to their greater care in the selection of their camp sites.

The climate of Yucatan, on the other hand, is much drier and more healthful. *Calentura* and other forms of fevers are less common than in any other part of southern Mexico. In many of the early *Relaciones*, or reports sent to Spain regarding the

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, p. 60.

conditions in the country, there is a distinction made between the healthfulness of Yucatan as compared with the moist character of the country to the southward and its consequent unhealthfulness.

Owing to the great evaporation, cold nights follow days of intense heat. On the average, the temperature is lower in Chiapas than in Yucatan.<sup>1</sup>

The country occupied by the Mayas and the Lacandones seems to be lacking in precious metals. The land is not so poor in useful minerals. Salt is obtained in Yucatan by evaporating sea water. In Chiapas the Indians formerly boiled in earthen pots or evaporated in shallow pans the brine obtained from salt mines. At the present time the Lacandones procure their salt in trade from the Mexicans. The one utensil, found in every household throughout Yucatan, the region of the Usumacinta, and every other part of Mexico as well, is the stone *metate* for grinding corn (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). They are usually made of a volcanic rock, andesite, or basalt. Sometimes they are made of flint. This latter has always been an important stone among the Mayas. The Lacandones flake and chip points of flint for their arrows (p. 60). Arrow points and knives are occasionally found of obsidian. At El Cayo, on the Usumacinta River, Mr. Maler has named carnelian, syenite, jadeite,<sup>2</sup> ofite, hematite, white marble, and petrified wood.<sup>3</sup>

**Flora.** — To attempt to give a complete account of the flora of the country occupied by the Mayas and the Lacandones would be to give a catalogue of the plants and trees which grow in the *tierra caliente*, or warm country. I shall therefore limit myself exclusively to those which are made use of by the Indians in their daily life. These in themselves unless curtailed would include almost as many as would come in the former list, inasmuch as the native makes use of practically every tree, plant,

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the temperature of Yucatan, see Casares, 1905, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> The stone called jadeite is in all probability serpentine.

<sup>3</sup> Maler, 1901-1903, p. 84.



and shrub for food, medicine, or in the practice of some of his arts. I shall take up first the woods which have been of most help to the Indian. The Lacandones use the mahogany tree in the manufacture of their canoes (*tšem*), hollowing out of a single log, by fire and the *machete*, a boat often thirty feet long. Logwood (*Hæmatoxylon campechianum*<sup>1</sup>) is found throughout the territory occupied by both these branches of the Maya stock. The Lacandones use it for the foreshafts of their arrows and for coloring. The *guayacan*, or *lignum vitæ* (*Guaiacum sanctum*), furnishes an excellent wood for making bows, as it is flexible and at the same time very strong. The leaves of the *ramon* (*Alicastrum brownei*, Maya *oš*) are used extensively in Yucatan for fodder, as there is little grass in the country. The gum of the *Protium heptaphyllum* is used as an incense in the religious ceremonies of both the Mayas and the Lacandones. It is called *copal* by the Mexicans and *pom* by the natives.<sup>2</sup> The sap of the rubber tree (*Castilloa elastica*, Maya *qıq*) is also used as incense among the Lacandones. A pitch pine (Maya *tšte*) is used for light in making journeys by night. It burns with a slow steady flame. From the bark of a tree called in Maya *baltš* there is manufactured an intoxicating drink used extensively in the religious rites of the Lacandones and in certain of the ceremonies of the Mayas of Yucatan. A large variety of pliable vines (Spanish *bejuco*, Maya *aq*) grow in the country, and these are put to various uses. The leaves composing the roofs of the native huts are tied to the framework by these vines, and the frame itself is held together in the same manner. Baskets and the wickerwork doors of the houses are made of the vines.

<sup>1</sup> For the botanical names, I have, for the most part, followed Charles F. Millsbaugh, 1896-1904.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. an early account of the use of copal in the "Relación del Pueblo de Mama" (1580), 1900, Vol. XI, p 169, "... ay un arbol que llaman los yndios pom; sera tan grande como una gran higuera dandole algunos golpes al Rededor y dejandolo dos dias destila de sı una Resina como trementina exceto ques mas dura y muy blanca llamanle los españoles copal y huele muy bien y tiene muchas virtudes con lo qual se curan los yndios . . . usaban mucho los naturales deste çahumerio que les afrecian sacrificio a sus dioses, el qual dicho arbol ay en este dicho pueblo y acuden en busca del demas de veynte leguas a la Redonda."

They are used in all the places where rope and twine would be used among a more civilized people. There are two varieties of *bejuco* which furnish water to the traveler in the forest. A piece six feet long often yields a half pint of water.

A number of kinds of palms are found in Yucatan and Chiapas. The leaves of many of the varieties are used as roofs to the native huts. One of the most common kinds used in this connection is *Sabal mexicana*, *guano* in Spanish (Maya *šan*). The *ceiba* (*Bombax ceiba*, Maya *yaštše*) is a tree which plays a part in the religious beliefs of the people (p. 154).

Of fruits we find a large number, many of which grow wild. The *chicosapote* (*Sapota achras*, Maya *ya*), the *mamey* (*Lucuma mammosa*), *anona* (*Anona squamosa*), *guanabana* (*Anona muricata*), *guayaba* (*Psidium guajava*), *tamarindo* (*Tamarindus indica*, Maya *patšuhuk*), *aguacate* (*Persea gratissima*, Nahuatl *ahuacatl*), *mango* (*Mangifera indica*), *cocoanut* (*Cocos nucifera*), *cocoyol* (*Acrocomia mexicana*, Nahuatl *cocoyotl*), *papaya* (*Papaya carica*, Maya *put*), and the *cacao* (*Theobroma cacao*, Maya *šau*) are found throughout most of the territory occupied by the Mayas. The lemon (*Citrus limonum*), the lime (*Citrus limetta*), the sour and sweet orange (*Citrus vulgaris* and *Citrus aurantium*), two varieties of bananas (*Musa sapientum*, Maya *boš*, and *Musa paradisiaca*, Maya *mīya*), and the pineapple (*Ananas sativus*) are cultivated by many of the Mayas of the peninsula in little gardens often surrounding their huts. Bananas, limes, and a small tomato (*Lycopersicum esculentum*, Maya *beyantšan*, Nahuatl *tomatl*) are grown by the Lacandones. The *achiote* (*Bixa orellana*, Nahuatl *achiyotetl*) and *chayote* (*Sechium edule*, Nahuatl *chayotli*) are found among both the Mayas and the Lacandones.

The *camote* (*Convolvulus batatas*, Maya *is*, Nahuatl *camotli*), *yuca* (*Manihot utilissima*, Maya *cin*), *frejoles* (*Phaseolus vulgaris*, Maya *buul*), a flat bean called in Maya *ip*, *chili* (*Capsicum baccatum*, Nahuatl *chilli*) are grown in the fields, together with the corn (Maya *išim*) among both the Mayas and the Lacandones. Cotton (Maya *taman*) is cultivated especially among the latter people.

Tobacco (Maya quo) and sugar cane are grown in small quantities both in Yucatan and Chiapas. In Yucatan there are several large sugar plantations, where *ants*, the drink of the country, is made. The northern half of the peninsula of Yucatan, owing to the shallowness of the soil overlying the limestone, is singularly fitted for the cultivation of *henequen* (*Agave rigida elongata* or *Agave sisalana*). From a commercial standpoint this is by far the most important product of the country.

Many varieties of gourds grow in both regions. They are called in Spanish *jicaras*, after the Nahuatl word *xicalli*. In Maya, *lut* is the name given to one variety (*Crescentia cujete*). They are universally used among both the Mayas and the Lacandones for vessels of all kinds, and a certain variety make canteens for carrying water on journeys.

**Fauna.**—As with the flora, so with the fauna, the list will be limited to include only that part used principally for food among the Mayas and Lacandones. A complete list of the animal and bird life in the country of the Mayas would take in with few exceptions all the animals and birds found in the colder portions of the torrid zone.

Game in abundance is found everywhere throughout Yucatan and Chiapas. In Yucatan we find at least two species of deer (*Odocoileus toltecus*<sup>1</sup> and *Hippocamelus pandora*, Maya *ke*), two species of wild turkey (*Meleagris mexicana* and *Agriocharis ocellata*, Maya *ku*), the wild boar (*Tagassu angulatum*, Maya *qeqem*), the partridge (*Eupsychortyx nigrogularis*, Maya *wan*), quail (*Dactylortyx thoracicus sharpei*, Maya *bet* or *ko*), the armadillo (*Tatu novemcinctum*, Maya *wet*), and a large number of less important animals which are hunted for game. In the country inhabited by the Lacandones there should be added the ocelot (*Felis pardalis*), the mountain lion (*Felis concolor*), the jaguar (*Felis onca*, Maya *balum* or *tšakmul*), the tapir (*Tapirella dowi*), two specimens of monkeys (*Ateles vellerosus*, Maya *maas*,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Cole for the scientific names.

and *Saimiri orstedii*, Maya *baaŋ*), two species of parrot (*Amazona albifrons* and *Conurus aztec*, Maya *tuŋ*), the badger (*Taxidea taxus*, Maya *kotom*), and the *Tepeizquinte* (*Agouti paca*). Alligators (Maya *ayin*) and turtles are abundant in the rivers and lakes. Iguanas (*hu*) are rarely eaten, although they are very common in Yucatan. Snails (*Melania lexisima*, Maya *ŋot*) furnish a means of sustenance among the Lacandonese.

A species of dog was known before the advent of the Spaniards. It is described in the early accounts as having no hair, with only a few and sharply pointed teeth and small ears and that it did not bark.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting study and one well worthy of attention would be an attempt at identifying the many kinds of fauna represented in the three Maya Codices<sup>2</sup> and in the bas-reliefs found on the ruined buildings. Many different kinds of animals are to be noted, and in some cases they may be clearly made out.<sup>3</sup> Among the Nahuas, ten of the twenty day signs represent the heads of animals: *cipactli*, crocodile; *cuetzpalin*, lizard; *couatl*, snake; *maçatl*, deer; *tochtli*, rabbit; *itzcuintli*, dog; *oçomatli*, ape; *ocelotl*, jaguar; *quauhtli*, eagle; and *cozcaquauhtli*, vulture.

<sup>1</sup> "Relación de la Ciudad de Merida," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 63: ". . . ay perros naturales dela tierra que no tienen pelo ninguno, y no ladran, que tienen los dientes ralos e agudos, las orejas pequeñas, tiesas y levantadas — a estos engordan los yndios para comer y los tienen por gran rregalo — estos se juntan con los perros de españa."

<sup>2</sup> The Troano, published by Brasseur de Bourbourg in 1869 and 1870; the Cortesianus, a part of the preceding manuscript, published by Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado in 1893; the Dresden, published by Förstemann in 1880 and again in 1892; and the Peresianus, published by Leon de Rosny in 1887, are the most available editions of the three Maya pre-Columbian manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the mythological animals represented in Schellas, 1897 and 1904.

## PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE whole Maya race is short in stature. The male Lacandone is of slightly higher stature than the Maya of Yucatan. The women of both sections are about equally short.<sup>1</sup> The Mayas of Yucatan are a strongly brachycephalic race. The Lacandones who were measured exceed the Mayas in the cephalic index. They are probably the most brachycephalic of any of the Mexican and Central American peoples.<sup>2</sup>

The whole Maya race is physically a most capable one. The Lacandone is here again slightly ahead of the Maya in this respect. The complete isolation of the Lacandone has freed him from assuming the tamed and subdued character that is often noted in the Maya proper. Both the Maya and Lacandone have broad foreheads and broad shoulders, stand erect and walk with remarkable ease and grace. The Lacandones often make long journeys on foot to the shrines of their various gods. The women accompany the men on these trips, often carrying a child astride the hips (Pl. III, Fig. 2), together with another swung on a net on the back. Landa regards this custom of carrying children astride the hip as the cause of the many cases of crooked legs among the Mayas.<sup>3</sup> This may well be the true cause of this deformity.

The Lacandone women are physically nearly as capable as the men, often cutting the firewood for the use of the family, besides helping the husband in the clearing away of the forest

<sup>1</sup> Sapper (1904, p. 11) distinguishes between a short type in northern Yucatan, a taller, more slender type in central Yucatan, and a short, thick-set type in southern Yucatan.

<sup>2</sup> In a short series of nineteen both of the Mayas and of the Lacandones, the index for the Mayas was 85.4 and for the Lacandones 86.5. Starr (1902, p. 51), in a series of one hundred men and twenty-five women, found the mean cephalic index to be 85. His mean measurement for the stature of males was 1552.4. This seems to me to be a little low.

<sup>3</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XX, p. 112: "Que los Indios de Yucatan son bien dispuestos y altos y rezios y de muchas fuerças y comunmente todos estevados, porque en su nifiez, quando las madres los llevan de una parte a otra, van ahorcados en los quadriles."

in preparing the ground for sowing. The Maya women, on the other hand, are much more delicate as a general thing, and would be physically incapable of enduring some of the hardships which the Lacandone women have to suffer.

The features of the Mayas as a whole are often very strong and noble. They are a prognathous race. The women of Chiapas do not have the beauty so often spoken of in connection with the native women of Yucatan.

The color of the Lacandone is a golden brown slightly lighter than that of the native of the peninsula. Discoloration of the skin was noted in one family of the Lacandones. This is more common however among the Mexicans occupying the same country. The hair of the Lacandone is black and often has some curl. In the children, it is often bleached by the sun to a reddish hue. The hair of the Maya proper is in general perfectly straight. The Lacandone men as well as the women wear the hair long. It thus serves as a protection for the neck and shoulders.<sup>1</sup> In one settlement only did I see any one with short hair (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). When those with short hair were conducting a religious rite, a piece of cloth was tied over the head and hung down behind. This was not noted in the case of those whose hair was long. The women wear it simply tied at the back and not in the knot as seen among the Maya women. The Lacandone man very often has considerable hair on his face and especially on the tip of his chin, where it is allowed to remain.<sup>2</sup> The heads on the incense-

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XX, p. 114: "Que criavan cabelo como las mugeres; por lo alto quemavan como una buena corona."

Villagutierre, 1701, Bk. VIII, Chap. XII, p. 498: "Traian las cabelleras largas, quanto pueden crecer: Y assi, es lo mas dificultoso en los Indios el reduzirlos à cortarles el pelo, porque el traerlo largo es señal de Idolatria. Y los Sacerdotes de sus Idolos, nunca las peynavan trayendolas emplastadas, y enredadas en mechones; porque las untavan continuamente con la sangre de los que sacrificavan."

<sup>2</sup> This is in accordance with what we find on many of the sculptured figures which are shown as possessing a beard. In only a few cases in the Maya Codices do we find figures represented with beards. For a detailed discussion of the appearance and dress of the figures shown in the inscriptions and manuscripts as compared with the accounts given by the early travelers, see Schellhas, 1890.

burners of the gods are represented as having beards. This idea of the gods having hair on the chin is doubtless the reason why the men never pull out the hair or shave, as do the natives of the peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

As a race, the Mayas are healthy. The Lacandones use great care in the selection of their camp sites and generally hold themselves completely aloof from the Mexican element of the population, who they fear will bring them fevers and colds. They have great powers of endurance, making, as has been stated, long journeys on foot and often carrying heavy burdens on the back suspended by a strap over the forehead. The children, when old enough to walk, are accustomed each to carry his proportionate load when going to and from the fields.

Other than a possible slight flattening of the skull in front, owing to the custom of suspending burdens from the forehead,<sup>2</sup> the Lacandones do not artificially deform their crania. The Mayas of Yucatan have the slight flattening of the head in front as well. They too have the universal custom of suspending burdens on the back, a part of the weight of which comes on the forehead.<sup>3</sup> The Mayas are not as erect as the Lacandones, and when under a heavy load they run in a slow and even gait. They too are capable of making singularly long journeys on foot, often under heavy burdens.

The sacral spot is found on very young infants of pure Indian blood. It vanishes usually after the first year of birth. It is variable in size and usually of a purple color.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is not in accordance with Landa (1864, Chap. XX, p. 114), who speaks of the Mayas as pulling out the hairs of the face. "No criaban barbas, y dezian que les quemavan los rostros sus madres con paños calientes, siendo niños, por que no les naciessen, y que agora crian barbas aunque muy asperas como cerdas de tocines."

<sup>2</sup> This slight flattening doubtless has some effect on the cephalic index, and may partially explain the extreme brachycephalic character of the heads measured (p. 24, note 2).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XX, p. 114: "Y que tenian las cabeças y frentes llanas, hecho tambien de sus madres por industria desde niños."

<sup>4</sup> Starr (1903) observed it on children of pure blood of less than a year old, but notes that it was lacking in children of mixed blood.

Among the early Mayas, tattooing was practiced.<sup>1</sup> The women, according to the early accounts, filed their teeth, and the mothers artificially deformed the heads of their children.<sup>2</sup> No traces of these customs have been found either among the present Mayas or the Lacandones.

Writers have often remarked upon the great neatness of the Mayas. This is, indeed, a very evident fact. In spite of the scarcity of water in some places, bathing is almost a daily custom, and even considering the fact that the dress of both the men and the women is of white material, it is very seldom that one sees a soiled garment. The methods of cooking among the Mayas are remarkable for their cleanliness. As much cannot be said of the Lacandones, who are far below the Mayas in respect to personal and domestic cleanliness.

Intellectually the Lacandones who have been encountered do not rank as high as the Mayas of the peninsula, who are generally quick to learn, quick to understand, and think with considerable rapidity. The mental processes of the Lacandones seem to act with much more slowness.

The Maya race is inherently a moral one.<sup>3</sup> The morals of the Lacandones are good. Their family life is happy, and even with a multiplicity of wives, there is seldom any occasion for discord and strife. They view with disgust the loose morals and the infidelity of the Mexicans with whom they come in contact. They have the strongest of family attachments and great respect for old age.

Morally as well as physically the Mayas proper rank below the Lacandones. The second may be the result of the first and both the result of their condition. The working force on the large *henequen haciendas*, which cover the whole northern

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XXI, p. 120: "Labravanse los cuerpos y quanto mas, tanto mas valientes y bravosos se tenian."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. XXXI, p. 182. A skull found at Labna, Yucatan, now in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, has the teeth filed into points. Many of the mask-like snouted figures composing the decoration on the façades of the ruined structures in northern Yucatan have the teeth represented as filed.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sapper, 1905.



part of the peninsula, is composed entirely of Mayas. So important is this branch of industry that a separate and distinct set of laws has grown up to regulate the relations between the owners of the *haciendas* and their workmen. On all the large plantations improved methods have come in, much to the betterment of the native. It has now been acknowledged that success is in proportion to the health and comfort of the natives. It has taken many years, however, to arrive at this opinion. Improved dwellings, medical care, and better superintendence is doing much to raise the condition of the Indian. According to law, a native as long as he is indebted to another virtually belongs to the owner of the debt. The servants on the *haciendas* all have debts against them ranging sometimes as high as one thousand pesos. At the present time labor is very scarce in Yucatan, and it is often only after a struggle that an Indian is allowed to pay his debt, and thus becomes free.

Drunkenness is a very great evil throughout the whole peninsula, and does much to destroy the physical well-being of the native. On the *haciendas* the laborers are often more or less intoxicated on Sundays and feast days. It is regarded as a thing that cannot be helped by the white men of the country. On week days the men are held in check by the *mayordomo*. On many of the plantations in the morning and again at night each man is given a drink of *anis*, the beverage of the country.

Among the Lacandones drunkenness is seen, but it is always in connection with their religious rites. It does not have the evil effect as noted in Yucatan. It is considered a part of the obligation of the feast in behalf of the gods that the participants should become intoxicated. The gods are said, however, not to like wranglings and disputes. Consequently, these seldom occur. Dancing and singing are pleasing to the gods, and these are indulged in by the participants in the ceremonies.

The Lacandones are generally truthful, honest, and mild except when exasperated, and sometimes with good reason, at

the acts of their Mexican neighbors. The Mayas are not as generally truthful, although mild and gentle except when under the influence of liquor. Both the Lacandone and the Maya are naturally hospitable and generous.<sup>1</sup>

**Clothing.** — As in everything except language, so in clothing, the Lacandone differs from the Maya of the peninsula. The native male of Chiapas wears in addition to the loin cloth (*qāñāk*) which stretches several times around his body, with the ends hanging down behind and in front,<sup>2</sup> a single cotton garment of *poncho* form (*āikul*) (Pl. IV, Figs. 1 and 2).<sup>3</sup> This garment is woven in two pieces of cloth and the two sewed together lengthwise, with the exception of openings for the arms and for the head. The dress hangs to the knees. Formerly, and even now, in some remote localities far removed from any trading center, this garment is made of maguey fiber or from the bark of a tree (Pl. V, Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup>

The Lacandones wear no head covering of any sort and seldom any protection for the feet. When they are at work in their fields, they sometimes wear a sandal of leather fastened to the foot by a cord passing over the toes and over the heel.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXIII, p. 134: "Que los Yucataneses son muy partidos y hospitales, porque entra nadie en su casa a quien no den la comida o bebida, que tienen de día de sus bebidas, de noche de sus comidas."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. XX, p. 116: "Que su vestido era un liston de una mano en ancho que les servia de bragas y calças y que se davan con el algunas vueltas por la cintura, de manera que el un cabo calgava delante y el otro detras."

Also cf. "Relación de los Pueblos de Campocolche y Chochola," 1900, Vol. XIII, p. 189: "... los bestidos antiguos destos yndios era andar en cueros solamente sus verguencas con una venda que algunas de ellas a cinco e seis varas ceñidas y dadas tres e quatro bueltas por los quadriles e por debaxo de las piernas e quedavale un rramal por detras y el otro por delante de manera que le tapava todo con las nalgas de fuera y todo lo demas del cuerpo."

This band is seen represented in both the Maya Codices and the bas-reliefs. Cf. Schellhas, 1890, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Villagutierre, 1701, Bk. VIII, Chap. XII, p. 498: "Sus vestiduras, de que usavan, eran unos Ayates, ò Gabaches, sin Mangas, y sus Mantas, todo de Algodón, texido de varios colores."

<sup>4</sup> The articles pictured throughout the paper are without exception in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge. The ethnological specimens, with but few exceptions, were collected by the writer, and, owing to the

The Lacandone women wear the same *poncho*-like garment as the men.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, they also wear a scant skirt (*plik*) reaching from the breasts to the ankles (Pl. V, Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> This is held in place by a band of cloth wound several times around the waist, forming a wide belt (*uhetšebinnog*) which is concealed by the upper garment. In one of the settlements visited, the women wore simply the *poncho*-like upper garment, which came down below the knees, thus dispensing with the skirt altogether. The women, as well as the men, never wear any covering for the head or any protection for the feet. The children often go entirely nude until the age of two or three years, when they wear clothes the exact counterpart of those worn by their fathers and mothers (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). Every man usually has two garments, one woven by his wife of the native cotton, and another made of the common cotton cloth of Mexican manufacture. The woman usually wears the hand-woven skirt, but the upper garment is often made of calico or of white cotton cloth. The skirt is woven in fine colored lines.

The Lacandone women wear a bunch of gayly colored bird feathers and the breasts of small birds hanging from the back of the hair where it is tied. They are also further adorned with necklaces, often wearing as many as twelve strings of beads and seeds (Pl. V, Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> These necklaces are composed principally of small black seeds (*tšankala*) which have to be strung when green. A very effective necklace is made of red berries (*qante*). Job's tears (*Ciox lacryma*, Maya *suk-paen*) are grown extensively, and these are strung and worn especially by the children. One necklace was seen made of mussel shells hung as pendants from a cord (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).

kindness of the council of the Institute, they were turned over to the Peabody Museum.

<sup>1</sup> In the Maya manuscripts in most instances where women are represented, the upper portion of the body is shown uncovered.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. representations from the Codices pictured in Schellhas, 1890, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Necklaces of many varieties and often very elaborate are shown on both male and female figures in the Codices and on the bas-reliefs. Cf. Schellhas, 1890.

From the lower ends of the strands of seeds there often hang pendants of various sorts, among which are pieces of bone, bits of sweet-smelling wood, and the skulls of very small monkeys. These are in the nature of charms. The Mexicans when traveling through this part of the country often bring in for barter strings of glass beads. These are highly prized by the natives.

Small children often have single bird feathers tied at intervals on the hair at the back of the head. These seem to have no other purpose than decoration.

In certain of the ceremonies, the men and women have a narrow band of fiber bark (*huun*),<sup>1</sup> colored red, and tied around the forehead (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1). The decoration of one's person, such as facial painting, will be taken up under ornamental art (p. 72).

The Mayas of Yucatan are much more picturesque in their dress than the Lacandones. The dress of the women is of the same general form as that of the women of Chiapas.<sup>2</sup> The material, however, is quite different. It is of the whitest linen or cotton cloth,<sup>3</sup> of Mexican or American manufacture, as contrasted with the coarse and rough garment of the Lacandone woven in the primitive loom from cotton of his own raising and spinning.

The Maya woman cuts her upper garment (*yupte*), called in Spanish *hipil* after the Nahuatl word *huepilli*, very wide and full. The opening for the neck is square, the edge of which, together with the bottom of the garment, is decorated with a band of the finest needlework in bright colors and

<sup>1</sup> This is also the Maya term for book or paper. The bark of the tree is pounded out so thin that it resembles paper. It was this sort of bark of which the ancient manuscripts were made.

<sup>2</sup> Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. IV, Chap. V, p. 188, thus describes the dress of the women at the time he wrote: "Las mugeres usan de Uaipiles que es una vestidura, que coge desde la garganta hasta la media pierna, con una abertura en lo superior por donde entra la cabeza, y otras dos por lo superior de los lados por donde salen los brazos, que queda cubiertos mas de hasta la mitad, porque no se cife al cuerpo esta ropa, que tambien les sirve de camisa."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 187: "Visten ropas de algodón blanquissimo, de que hazen camisas, y calçones, y unas mantas como de vara y medio en quadro, quell aman tilmas, ò hayates."

often by an edging of hand-made lace. The ordinary everyday dress of the woman has, in place of the embroidery, a band of cotton cloth stamped with a simple design colored or in black (Pl. VI, Fig. 2). The skirt (*pik*), which is worn longer than among the women of Chiapas, is of the same white material as the *hipil*. This is also decorated with the embroidery and the lace. In the small hamlets the women often wear simply the skirt when at work around the hut or in the fields.

The hair of the Maya woman is worn tied at the back of the head in two loops (*alinta*). The women cover their heads with the *rebosa* (*botil*), a long scarf either of cotton or of brightly colored silk, wound around the shoulders and over the head (Pl. VI, Fig. 2). The women of the cities and larger towns wear gold earrings and elaborate gold chains on which are usually hung the medals of the Catholic Church.

The Maya men wear breeches (*ikulel*) of white cotton cloth and a simple shirt of the same material, usually hanging outside the breeches (Pl. VII, Fig. 2). When working in the fields they invariably wear a piece of cloth tied around the waist, which serves as an apron (*t'ikn'aknoq*). Those who live in the cities often have the shirt made of some colored cloth. In this case it is longer, contains two pockets near the bottom, and the apron is usually dispensed with. In the fields, the men ordinarily divest themselves of the shirt and wear only the short breeches with the apron (Pl. VII, Fig. 2). The head is always covered with a wide-brimmed hat of braided straw.

The women wear slippers of modern manufacture and the men sandals (*sanapqewel*) of leather, attached to the foot by a strap or rope passing between the first and second toes (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The figures represented in the Codices are seldom shown with any protection for the feet. On the bas-reliefs sandals are more common, but they are shown as attached by two cords passing between the first and second and the third and fourth toes, a method different from that now in use where only one cord is employed. Cf. Schellhas, 1890, pp. 215-216. Some figures in the Codices are shown as wearing sandals with a piece behind coming up over the heel.

## SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE relations of the Lacandones to those around them are generally slight. The greater part of the country occupied by this people is under grant by the government to companies formed for the exploitation of mahogany. These companies have headquarters on the rivers and from these settlements as centers radiate temporary camps called *monterias*, which are found practically everywhere throughout the territory occupied by the Lacandones. The Indians thus have a limited contact with the Mexicans who live in these logging camps. They visit these *monterias* when they are in need of salt; and the Mexicans, on the other hand, when passing to and from the different camps, visit the Indians, more often stealing than buying bananas and tobacco from the Lacandones. This comparatively slight contact with the Spanish population has all come within the last five years. It seems up to the present time to have had no perceptible influence on their daily life. The Indians still keep up their ancient rites, undisturbed by the Mexicans, whom they never allow to approach, or see their idols or any of the ceremonies. The Mexicans regard the Indians as quite beneath their notice other than as curiosities.

In the customs and rites of the Lacandones, no trace of the early Spanish Catholic contact is to be found. After repeated attempts the early explorers and missionaries, owing to their ill success, finally gave up their idea of converting the Lacandones (p. 13). A little farther to the north, the natives of Palenque, who speak another dialect of the Maya, are all good Catholics. Their former religion, as is the case in Yucatan, has given way to that brought in by the Spanish missionaries. These people were much more accessible than were the inhabitants of the interior of Chiapas.

Galindo (1834) makes the following significant remark concerning the pureness of the Lacandones of the Maya stock: "La seule portion de pure race restant de cette grande nation [Maya], se réduit à quelques tribus éparses, habitant principalement les bords des rivières Usumasinta . . . la totalité de leur territoire fait, politiquement parlant, partie du Peten."

Sometimes in one of the *monterias* there is found a Lacandone who has adopted the life and customs of the Mexicans. His hair is short, and he is not readily to be distinguished from his fellow-Mexican. This desertion of the family gods is not common. The Lacandones regard such a course as a bad breach of conduct. The seceding Indian, on the other hand, thinks it an upward move. He often renounces his family, and in some cases he refuses to understand his native tongue.

With the exception of the few Indians who have renounced their tribe for good and all, no case of intermarriage between the Lacandones and the Mexicans has been observed. The slight contact between the two races is shown in the very cursory knowledge of Spanish by the Lacandone, and the very few Maya words known by the Mexicans of the country. Those Lacandones who live in the vicinity of the logging camps understand a few Spanish words necessary in trading with the Mexicans. There are only a very few who are able to carry on any connected conversation in Spanish.

Mr. Sapper<sup>1</sup> gives as a reason for the freedom from Spanish influence and control the fact that they "even then" were a nomadic people. The Lacandones are an agricultural rather than a nomadic race. That they are a nomadic people seems to be disproved by the fact that they are divided into totemic divisions, which may still be identified with certain localities.

<sup>1</sup> Sapper, 1897, p. 259: "Auch in der Conquista-Zeit ist ihre Zahl schon ziemlich beschränkt gewesen, und auch damals waren sie schon wenig sesshaft, wie man aus den Nachrichten älterer Schriftsteller entnimmt, und aus der Verpflegungsschwierigkeit für die Truppen und der steten Veränderung der Lacandonenwohnsitze erklärt es sich auch in erster Linie, weshalb das in den unzugänglichen Urwäldern hausende Volk niemals unter die Botmässigkeit der Spanier gekommen ist."

They are primarily an agricultural people, and a wandering life would be impossible. It is true that a change of residence is made as often as the fields become barren, but the new site is in the immediate neighborhood of the former home. Their whole manner of life is entirely at variance with that of a nomadic character. Finally, the collection of incense-burners made by each encampment as representatives of the gods, together with the sacred shrine where they are kept, would seem to show a certain permanence in their dwelling place. We must, I think, look for another cause for the failure of the Spanish to make a permanent impression upon the life and customs of the Lacandonese, such as they were so successful in doing among the Mayas of Yucatan and in other parts of Mexico. If one but reads the Fifth Letter<sup>1</sup> of Hernando Cortes to Charles V of Spain, describing the expedition to Honduras, and the less colored account by Bernal Diaz,<sup>2</sup> he will readily see the main cause of the ill success of the Spanish in the territory drained by the Usumacinta. In a country where, as in eastern Yucatan, there are no natural impediments in the way of progress such as rivers, swamps, or high mountains, it was only after repeated outbreaks and insurrections that the main body of the Mayas of Yucatan were compelled to acknowledge the superior force of Spanish arms and Spanish religion. Even to this day, a part still hold out against Mexican rule. It is not then surprising that, in a habitat where the natural difficulties at certain seasons of the year are practically unsurmountable, the Spanish were unsuccessful with a people of the same race as those whose allegiance was gained only partially under the most favorable of natural conditions. The accounts given by Cortes of the difficulties he suffered in crossing Chiapas and Guatemala are no exaggerations, and this was the very country occupied by the Lacandonese.

Another cause which may have prevented any prolonged attempt of the Spanish to conquer the natives of the upper Usumacinta was the natural poverty of the country in the way

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Diaz, 1632.



of mineral wealth. An inborn courage, the love of liberty, and the fact of the dissemination of the natives may be ascribed as other causes of the prolonged independence of the Lacandones. There is no reason to suppose, however, that these people are any more sincere in their observances of the old rites than once were those farther to the north together with the natives of the peninsula.

The two people at one time were, in all probability, one in customs and religion as they now practically are in language, because, as will be shown later, the customs described by Diego de Landa and the other early missionaries and historians as existing in their time are identical in many ways with those now carried on by the Lacandones. These two sections of the Maya stock are separated by a range of mountains which has proved to be a dividing line between the two fields as regards contact with Spanish influence.

As to the relation of the Mayas of Yucatan with people of another blood, one very interesting fact comes out, a fact noted by all historians and writers on the inhabitants of the peninsula. The Spanish, as seen throughout Mexico, Central and South America, came into the country with their language, religion, and customs. Unlike any other part of the vast territory in the new world governed by a Spanish-speaking population, Yucatan stands almost alone in the fact that the native language has survived and has not been superseded by the language of the Spaniards, conquerors in all other respects. In most of the states of Mexico, with the exception of Yucatan, very little remains of the native tongue. It is only found in isolated communities where there is little or no contact with the Mexican element. In Yucatan, the conditions are much different. Whether in Merida, its largest city, with an ever increasing European population, or in the fastness of the *sublevado* Indians, the native language has still survived. The Mayas almost without exception speak their mother tongue, and the white people of the country often speak Maya more or less fluently. On the *haciendas* which cover the whole northern

part of the peninsula, the *mayordomos* invariably speak Maya to the servants, and even the owners frequently use the same tongue when addressing the field hands. Books are printed in Maya and sermons are frequently given in it in the churches. The priests almost without exception have a knowledge of the language.

The contact with Mexican influence has also failed to change the native manner of dressing. Tradition is so strong on this point that if an aspiring Indian assumes the American or Spanish custom of dress, he is chided and made fun of until he is quite ready to resume the cotton pantaloons and shirt of his race. In most respects, however, other than language and dress, the Maya of Yucatan is practically one with the Mexican. What remains of the native beliefs and religion has been altered so that it coincides more or less faithfully with the ideas of the Catholic Church.

The Lacandones have been described as an agricultural rather than a nomadic people. The Mayas as well do not seem to have a wandering spirit. They usually are born and die in the same place and their children after them. If the fathers are indentured servants on the *haciendas*, the sons usually become so, although they do not as a rule inherit the debts of their fathers. It takes usually more energy than the Mayas possess to overcome the inertia necessary in making a new move.

The Lacandones recognize the Mayas of the peninsula as speaking the same language and as members of the same tribe. They observe, however, a difference when speaking about them. They say that the Mayas of Yucatan have different *santos*, meaning the protective saints of the Catholic Church as contrasted with the native gods of the race. They recognize, moreover, a closer relation between themselves and the Mayas proper, than between themselves and the natives living to the northward around Palenque, who speak the Chol dialect of the Maya stock. This is not as closely allied to the dialect spoken by the Lacandones as is that of the natives of Yucatan. There is a much closer relation, however, between the Lacandones and

the Itzas of Peten, than between the former and the inhabitants of the peninsula to the northward. By some authorities, the Itzas and the Lacandones are regarded as the same people. Constant trade communications were kept up between the settlements on the Usumacinta and its affluents and those of Peten.

The Mayas recognize the Lacandones as speaking the same language, but as a people very slightly connected with them, inasmuch as their customs differ so considerably. When any mention is made of the Mayas of Tabasco and Chiapas, they are always described as *no son cristianos*.

The divisions of the Lacandones among themselves show the remains of a once well-regulated system, now more or less broken down. The natives live in widely scattered settlements, two or three related families together.

The Lacandones move their encampments, as has been stated, from place to place, but only within a very narrow range. As soon as the fields around a settlement become barren, a new site is found in the immediate vicinity. Thus a family always lives in the same general locality, and there is a certain idea of permanence in their method of living absent in that of a truly nomadic people. The changes of encampment usually come every three or four years. There is no rule that on the death of a member of the family, a new home must be found. This is sometimes done, but it is always owing to the supposed or real unhealthfulness of a certain locality, rather than to any tribal custom.

These settlements are usually made on the site of a corn field (Pl. VIII, Figs. 1, 2, and 3). Each consists of a sacred hut, where all the religious observances are carried on, and where the gods of the family are kept (p. 111), a smaller hut or shelter where the food is prepared for the offerings made to the idols, and one or more domestic huts. Sometimes two families live in the same house but occupy separate ends. The domestic life of each family is distinct. There is little idea of communal

life other than that side touching the religion and the possession of the fields.

Each encampment has four trails leading to it, corresponding to the four cardinal points.<sup>1</sup>

As has been stated concerning the Nahuatl race at the time of the Conquest,<sup>2</sup> so it is true of the Lacandones of the present time, they "have achieved progress to descent in the male line." The oldest son of the first and principal wife is the main heir. The younger sons receive a part of the inheritance, consisting principally of the idols of the gods. If there are no sons, the brothers of the dead man inherit his possessions. The land is held in common, so that property in land does not exist. Daughters do not inherit any of the personal possessions of their father. As would be expected from the fact that the women take no part in the observance of the religion, they occupy an inferior place in the household. A widow usually lives with the oldest son, and as head of the family it is his duty to support her.

Mr. Bandelier calls attention to the curious fact that among the early Mexicans certain grades of consanguinity are called by the same names, showing that the modern descriptive system for relationship appears in a minority of cases only. From this he infers that the Mexican family was yet but imperfectly constituted at the time of the Conquest.<sup>3</sup> Among the Lacandones we find the same thing true. The title **Yum** is given to the father, the paternal uncles and the eldest son of the oldest uncle, the future head of the family. Brothers, sisters, and cousins call each other by the same name. The oldest brother or male cousin is called **Sukun**, the oldest sister or female cousin, **Kik**. The oldest children are thus distinguished as to age and sex. The younger brothers, sisters, and cousins of both sexes all have the same name, **Wioin**.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXV, p. 210: "Uso era en todos los pueblos de Yucatan tener hecho dos montones de piedra, uno en frente de otro, á la entrada del pueblo por todas las quatro partes del pueblo. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Bandelier, 1879, p. 567.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 570.

Each family branch bears the name of some animal. This is transmitted through the male line. Inasmuch as the members of one line of descent generally live in the same neighborhood, the animal names become associated with certain localities. Landa makes no mention of the family totem names. He says, however, that it was considered a sin for members of the same family to marry.<sup>1</sup> Now, although not frequent, one sometimes finds a marriage existing between two people of the same family connection, thus bearing the same animal name.

Whatever there may have been of the idea of the totem and totemic devices in regard to the animals, it has been lost, and nothing remains but the mere animal name of the division. The animal totem is called *yonen*, the general term for relative. The kid (*yuk*) painted on the ceremonial robe (Pl. XV, Fig. 1) is the only example found where there was any approach to a representation of a totemic device. There seems to be a common practice of keeping in captivity the animals connected with the settlement in a totemic signification. Monkeys, doves, and small birds were noted as kept as pets, especially by the women.

The names of eighteen animal divisions were obtained. The location given may be taken only approximately, as it was impossible to obtain an accurate idea of the situation of the different gentes. The people who live in the vicinity of Lake Petha<sup>2</sup> belong to the *maas* (Spanish *mico*) or monkey gens. Near Anaite, on the Usumacinta River, live the *koton* (Spanish *tejon*) or badger gens and the *sanhol* gens. The Mexicans of the country call the *sanhol* the *cabeza blanca*. The *qeqen* (Spanish *jabalin*) or wild boar, the *kitam* (Spanish *puerco del monte*), the *ke* (Spanish *venado*) or small deer, the *yuk* (Spanish *cabritu*) or kid, the *táilup* (Spanish *golondrina*), and the *sup* gens are all located near the shores of the Lacantun River. It was impossible to obtain a more accurate idea of their situa-

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XXV, p. 140: "y muchos avia que nunca avian tenido sino una (mujer) la qual ninguno tomava de su nombre, de parte de su padre."

<sup>2</sup> See map in Maler, 1901-1903, Plate I.

tion. Near Tenosique are found the **qambul** (Spanish *faisan*) or pheasant, the **balum** or tiger, and the **mo** or macaw gens. Near the *monteria* of San Hipolito (a few leagues north of Lake Petha) are to be found the **harleu** (Spanish *tepeizquite*) and **koš** (Spanish *cojolito*<sup>1</sup>) gens. Near El Cambio, on the Chancala River, are located the **wan** (Spanish *perdiz*) or partridge, the **tuṭ** or parrot, and the **baao** (Spanish *saraguato*) gens. The **akmaš** (Spanish *mico de noche*) gens is said to be located at Peten in Guatemala.

In addition to the animal name which every person bears, there is another designation which is very indefinite. The people of the **qeqen** and **kitam** gens are also given the name **kowō**, and those of the **kotom** and **sanhol** divisions, the name **taš**, which has the meaning level. Those who belong to the **maao** gens are also known by the term *karsia*. This word seems to be more Spanish than Maya in form. The Mexicans of the vicinity know this particular settlement by the latter name, whereas they are in total ignorance of the divisions according to animal names. Sapper speaks without comment of the *Garcias* seemingly as a division of the Lacandones.<sup>2</sup> The **balum** gens has the other designation **puk**, the root of the verb meaning to destroy anything made of earth. It is impossible to tell on what this second classification is based. There seems to be no special class of objects used as names. The same words are found used as surnames among the Mayas of Yucatan. **Kowō** is the name of a family living near Valladolid.<sup>3</sup> This second designation among the Lacandones may be the remains of a once elaborate system of social organization with divisions made up of families and groups of families joined together with bonds of relationship.

The native speaks of the animal names noted above as **in-yonen**, my relative, so that there seems to be a close bond

<sup>1</sup> This is from the Nahuatl word *cojolitl*.      <sup>2</sup> Sapper, 1897, pp. 262, 263.

<sup>3</sup> Among others there were noted as surnames among the Mayas, **tšan**, little; **boš**, black; **meš**, beard; **tuš**, a falsehood; **eq**, *palo de tinta*; and **oap**, the rattler of a snake.

between all the people bearing the same name and the animal itself.

There is another name corresponding to the Spanish word *tocayo*, or namesake. This is also the name of an animal, but it is not handed down from father to son as in the former case, but seems to be given as regards priority of birth. The first son is usually given the name **Qin**, sun, and his secondary animal name is **Baao**, monkey.<sup>1</sup> The first daughter is called **Naqin**, (from **na**, house), and she also shares the same animal name as her oldest brother. The second son to be born is usually given the name **Qatyum**, singing god, and his secondary animal name is **Sanhol** (Spanish *cabeza blanca*). The second daughter is called **Naqatyum**, and she is also associated with the **sanhol** as is the second son. The third son is called **Tianqin**, little sun, and the third daughter, in the same way, **Natŕanqin**. There are other names found in use, **Bol**, a verb meaning to distribute food, and **Nabol**, the corresponding name given to the girl. I could not make out what son and what daughter bore these names, but those who possessed it had as their secondary animal names, **Qimbol**, a species of snake. It seems from the meaning of the word **bol** that the domestic head of the family may have had this designation. If this is the case, it seems probable that the persons having this name did not always occupy the same relative position in the order of age in the family. In one case I found the name **Bol** given to the oldest son, but in all other cases he bore the name **Qin**. It may come out on further investigation that there may be a difference as regards naming the first son in respect to his mother, whether or not she is the wife first married or a later one.

Each of the pairs of names — **Qin** and **Naqin**, **Qatyum** and **Naqatyum**, **Tianqin** and **Natŕanqin**, **Bol** and **Nabol** — has as their special possession secular songs relating to the animals whose names they bear.

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that the **baao** is also found as one of the names in the primary animal classification.

Thus, to sum up, we find a number of different names used by the Lacandones.

(1) They address each other by the terms of relationship to themselves, cousins and brothers being considered the same.

(2) Each family has an animal name which is transmitted from father to son.

(3) There is some larger division, and certain families are united under one name. This has not been successfully worked out.

(4) Each person in the family bears a name as regards the order of precedence of birth.

(5) Each person in the family bears an animal name which varies as the name under (4) varies. All first sons have the same name and the same animal name.

It may be well to investigate in detail the form of government of the families among whom most of the rites described were witnessed. Two brothers, Qin and Chanqin, of the *maao* gens, had married two sisters of the *qeqen* family. These two families live in peace under the same roof; each, however, with its own distinct camp fire and food. The older brother rules supreme in the little settlement, and it is he who decides all questions which may come up. A half league away lives the aged mother of the two brothers together with a grandson, the child of her oldest son who is dead. Two of her daughters also live in this encampment. They are both married to a man of the same gens. The grandson, Qin, the heir of the oldest son, would naturally be the head of the encampment. He is still young and unable to carry out the demands of the religious ceremonies. These are therefore undertaken by the husband of his two aunts and not, as might at first be supposed, by one of the uncles.

One may see in this the faint remains of the matriarchal system, where, on the death of the oldest son and during the childhood of the heir, the regency is held, not by the deceased man's brothers, but by the husband of his sister.

There is little or no need of concerted action or of any



central government among the Lacandones, living, as they do, separated into self-sustaining communities.<sup>1</sup> When a man gives a feast, he invites all his neighbors far and near. He is the lord of the ceremony, however, and holds absolute control within the little settlement where it is observed. The others are his guests, and they all pay him honor and obedience as their host.

A pleasing custom always observed among the Lacandones is seen in the greeting and taking leave of the giver of one of the feasts by the guests. A set form of speech is used and the giver of the feast is addressed by the title *Yum*, father or lord. At the entrance to the sacred inclosure each person utters the following words, *Bininkinwile inyume*, I come to see you, my lord. The person addressed always bids him enter, *Orken*. In taking leave the form is *Bininka tinna*, I am going to my house. The guest never leaves, however, until the giver of the feast has given him permission to depart, *Šen*, go. The members of the family of the host are also addressed singly by their titles of relationship to the speaker as *Bininkinwile inkik*, I am coming to see you, my sister. Among the Mayas, the form used in taking leave is more in the nature of asking permission, *Šikent*, may I go? and the answer is *Šen*, go. This custom is not carried so far among the Mayas as among the Lacandones.<sup>2</sup> Every one present in a hut is not individually addressed when one is leaving, as among the latter people.

The family with the father at the head is the unit in the social organization of the Lacandones. A group of related families seems to form the gens. There is no evidence that we can safely accept which shows any larger division than the gens. There is no need for a larger unit. Wars have disappeared, and there is no cause for the compact form of society where strength

<sup>1</sup> Margil, 1696, gives an interesting account of the social organization of the Lacandones.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXIII, p. 132: "Porque en el progreso de sus platicas, el menor por curiosidad suele repetir el nombre del officio ò dignidad del mayor."

is needed to resist an enemy or where each family has its portion of labor to perform in order to sustain the whole, as among people of a higher social status. Among the Lacandones, family is isolated from family, each with its own fields. The different functions of society are carried out by the members of the family. The father, assisted by his oldest son, clears the forest to make the fields and carries on the rites of their religion, while the mother and the daughters spin and weave the cotton into clothing, grind the corn, and carry on the ordinary work of the household. Their part in the religious life consists in the preparation of the food and drink to be offered the idols in behalf of the gods. The family thus seems to be the unit also in the religious life. The gods are, for the most part, family deities rather than tribal.

The gathering of the families of the same gens occurs at certain of the important rites. The daily and weekly ceremonies carried on before the incense-burners are performed by the male members of the family.

The morals of the family are strict. Prostitution or adultery seldom occurs. Until marriage the daughters remain under the strict control and care of their fathers. The father of the boy seeks the bride, and she comes to live in his home.<sup>1</sup> There are exceptions to this rule, as in the case cited before, where the husband had married the two sisters and had come to live at their home. The marriage ceremony is not complicated. There is an offering of *posol* and *baltse* to the gods, and the man and woman eat together as a sign that they are man and wife. After marriage, a man and woman never again eat with their parents. If one is visiting at the home of his father and mother, he eats apart from them. A widow, all of whose sons are married, is thus compelled to eat alone.

Polygyny is not an uncommon thing among the Lacandones. No instances have been observed of a man having more than three wives. The women all live together, and the duties of the household are divided and shared among them. There

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXV, p. 140.

seems always to be a favorite wife. Usually she is the first one married. It is she who brings to her husband, in the sacred inclosure, the food and drink prepared by the wives to be offered to the gods. A woman is regarded in the relationship of aunt (*q̄na*) to the children of her husband by another wife.

Polyandry has been reported among the Lacandones, but the fact has, I think, never been established.

Among the Mayas of Yucatan, the man has to make a present to the parents of the girl, and it is he who pays for the clothes necessary for the marriage.

The fecundity of the Maya race is large but not excessive.<sup>1</sup> Marriages generally take place at a very early age. One often finds mothers of thirteen and fourteen, which shows the quick development of the girl into the woman. At child birth there is a special ceremony held before the idols, where prayers are offered up in behalf of the mother and her child. A pregnant woman wears around her neck a cotton string (*kut̄*). This is to preserve the life of the embryo. After the child is born, the mother places the string around the neck or the leg (see Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1) of some one who is ill, usually a male relative. If it is taken off, the child dies and the man loses the beneficial effect of its presence. It is effective for about a year. Children are kept at the breast a much longer time than among white people.<sup>2</sup>

Children among the Lacandones are usually called by the terms of their relationship to the speaker. This is especially true of brothers, sisters, and cousins who address each other as brother and sister. The eldest son of a family bears the name *Qin* until the death of his father, when he receives the title *Yum*. The eldest daughter is named *Šnuk* (the large one),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXII, p. 192: "Son muy fecundas y tempranas en parir, y grandes criaderas por dos razones, la una porque la bebida de las manafias que beven caliente cria mucha leche y el continuo moler de su maiz y no traer los pechos apretados les haze tenerlos muy grandes donde les viene tener mucha leche."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. XXX, p. 180: "Mamavan mucho, porque nunca dexavan de darles leche pudiendo, aunque fuessen de tres o quatro años."

and the younger daughters are usually called **Tiasnuk** (little ones). These names are in addition to those used in connection with animal names.

In Yucatan the child is always carried astride the hip. Among the inhabitants of Chiapas, the custom is also common (Pl. III, Fig. 2). Here the very small children are often suspended in a net on the back of the mother, the net being supported by a cord passing over the forehead.

There seem to be no elaborate puberty rites. When a boy arrives at the age of manhood, the father offers a bow and a set of arrows to the gods in behalf of the boy, with a prayer beseeching them to make his son a good hunter. After this the boy may take an active part in all the rites, and it is at this time that he assumes the loin cloth. A girl, on arriving at the age of puberty, wears the bunch of bird feathers suspended from the back of the head.

Ages are reckoned as regards the number of dry and wet seasons that have passed. **Yasqin**, the first sun, is used to designate the dry epoch, and **hahal**, from **ha**, water, the rainy season. I was unable to find any trace of the ancient system of reckoning time.

The mortuary customs furnish a means of ascertaining the ideas concerning death and a future life. The belief among the Lacandones is, that when a person dies, his "pulse," as it is expressed (**upisannuqab**), goes below, to live in the underworld with **Kisn** (p. 95), and the heart goes above, to remain with **Nohotsakyum**, the main god. Among the Lacandones, the body, lying on its back, is placed in a grave about two feet in depth. On the abdomen a bundle of ground corn is deposited for making *posol* and *tortillas*. Parallel sticks are laid crosswise the body, followed by a layer of palm leaves. On these the earth is piled until the grave is filled and a mound about a foot high is made. Ashes are sprinkled over the mound, and at each of the four corners there is placed a small figure made of palm leaves and representing a dog. These are supposed to accompany the soul as guardians to its final resting

place.<sup>1</sup> Around the grave is a line of small sticks about four inches apart. On the top of each stick is a bit of cloth dipped in beeswax. Each male member of the family of the deceased plants and lights three or more of these rude candles, and each woman and child two.<sup>2</sup> A shelter of palm leaves is finally built over the grave. From the roof there is suspended a gourd filled with *posol*, another with water, and a third containing *tortillas*.<sup>3</sup> This food, together with that placed directly on the

<sup>1</sup> Seler (1900-1901, pp. 82-83) gives an interesting parallel of the Nahua idea of the dog and his connection with death. He paraphrases Sahagun as follows: "The native Mexican dogs . . . barked, wagged their tails, in a word, behaved in all respects like our own dogs, were kept by the Mexicans not only as house companions, but above all for the shambles, and also in Yucatan and on the coast land for sacrifice. The importance that the dog had acquired in the funeral rites may perhaps have originated in the fact that, as the departed of both sexes were accompanied by their effects, the prince by the women and slaves in his service, so the dog was consigned to the grave as his master's associate, friend, and guard, and that the persistence of this custom in course of time created the belief that the dog stood in some special relation to the kingdom of the dead. It may also be that, simply because it was the practice to burn the dead, the dog was looked on as the Fire God's animal and the emblem of fire, the natives got accustomed to speak of him as the messenger to prepare the way in the kingdom of the dead, and thus eventually to regard him as such. At the time when the Spaniards made their acquaintance, it was the constant practice of the Mexicans to commit to the grave with the dead a dog, who had to be of a red-yellow color, and had a string of unspun cotton round his neck, and was first killed by the thrust of a dart in his throat. The Mexicans believed that four years after death, when the soul had already passed through many dangers on its way to the underworld, it came at last to the bank of a great river, the Chicunauhapan, which encircled the underworld proper. The souls could get across this river only when they were awaited by their little dog, who, on recognizing his master on the opposite side, rushed into the water to bring him over." (Sahagun, 3 Appendix, Chap. I.)

<sup>2</sup> The idea of candles in connection with the burial rites may be of Spanish origin, although there is no suggestion of the cross in connection with the burial ceremony.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. XII, Chap. VII, p. 699: "Que en muriendo la persona, para sepultar el cuerpo, le doblan las piernas, y ponen la cara sobre las rodillas . . . abren en tierra, un hoyo redondo. . . . Al rededor le ponen mucha vianda, una xicara, un calabazo con atole, falvados de maiz, y unas tortillas grandes de lo mismo, que han lleuado juntamente con el cuerpo, y assi lo cubren despues con tierra."

Also cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXIII, p. 196: "Muertos los amortajavan hinchandoles la boca del maiz molido que es su comida y bebida que llaman koyem."

For a later account, cf. Sapper, 1897, p. 265: "Bei den Lacandonen im

body, is to furnish sustenance on the journey which the soul (*pišān*) takes to the home of the main god of the Lacandones. After its arrival at the final resting place, its welfare is assured. The water contained in the gourd, hung in the shelter, is to wash the hands before the food is touched, and the four dogs, as has been noted, are supposed to accompany the body on its journey as protectors. The parallel sticks placed over the body are to guard it from being devoured by the animals of the forest. Otherwise the animals might consume the body and then they might be killed and eaten, in turn, by the people. This would be considered as one of the greatest crimes known to the Lacandones. The ashes placed on top of the grave symbolize the warmth given to the soul to protect it from the cold.

Incineration is no longer practiced in any form.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Mayas of Yucatan, a burial is usually carried out according to the customs of the Catholic Church. Food and drink, however, are placed on the grave.

Trade is carried on to a limited extent by the Lacandones among themselves. Cocoa berries, masses of *copal*, wax, rubber, and bunches of feathers are often used as the mediums of exchange as in former times.<sup>2</sup>

**Sociology of the Mayas.** — There is little that can be said concerning the sociology of the Mayas. They live under the laws of the Mexican Republic. In the *pueblos* they elect their own *presidente* for the town. All the former forms of tribal division are completely lost. Polygyny is not allowed to exist, and it is not openly carried on. The morals of the family are loose. Prostitution is common. Landa speaks with surprising candor of the morals of the natives before and after the entrance

östlichen Chiapas sollen die Leichname im Walde auf einen Holzrost in einer nur handtiefen Grube gelegt und mit Laub und Erde destreut werden, so dass sie also den Thieren zum Frasse dienen könnten."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Relación de Mutul," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 87: "Los tratos y contrataciones y grangerías que ay entre los naturales y españoles son mantas de algodón, cera, y miel, y sal, y otras cosas de mantenimiento, que benden unos a otros y en cacao que se trae de la provincia de tabasco y de onduras."

of the Spaniards into the country.<sup>1</sup> When one takes into consideration the fact that the account was written by a priest of the people whom he criticises so harshly concerning the evils which they have brought into the country, the statement has great weight.

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXII, p. 186: "Preciavanse de buenas y tenian razon, porque antes que conociessen nuestra nacion, segun los viejos aora lloran, lo eran a maravilla."

## INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

**Agriculture.** — Agriculture is necessarily very crude among both the Mayas and the Lacandones, owing to the nature of the ground and the lack of modern tools and methods. It is practically identical in both localities. Corn, the staple product and the fundamental article of food, is cultivated after the manner of the country. There are several kinds of corn found among the Mayas and the Lacandones, and they are distinguished chiefly by their colors.<sup>1</sup> Some of the varieties are found in every settlement and encampment. In December or January a site well exposed to the sun is selected, and the trees are felled and the undergrowth cut away. During the succeeding months of the season of drought, the fallen trees become well dried. Just before the rainy season sets in, during the middle of April or the first of May, the mass of underbrush and trees are burned, thus clearing and enriching the ground at the same time. At the coming of the rains, the corn is placed in the ground, which has had no preparation other than the clearing and burning of the trees.

The preparation of the corn for food may well be regarded as a separate industry. The greater part of the time of the women is thus taken up. Most of the corn is eaten in the form of *tortillas*. The corn is first soaked overnight in an alkali to remove the hulls. In Yucatan, limestone is burned to furnish this alkali. In Chiapas, it is often difficult to find limestone which is pure enough for this purpose. The shells of the freshwater snails are burned as a substitute. A strong lye is also obtained from the ashes of the bark of the mahogany tree.

<sup>1</sup> Among the varieties of corn are *sākšim* or *šnuknal*, a large white corn; *tšäktšotš* or *tšäkšnuknal*, a large red variety; *tšäktšäkinoonot*, a small red corn; *qanšim*, a yellow kind; and *tšäkinoonot*, a blue variety.



The corn is ground moist on the stone *metate* (Nahuatl *metatl*) (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). As seen among the Mayas, the stone is slightly concave, is inclined, and supported on three legs. The crusher is long and round, and extends beyond the edges of the *metate*. The corn is often ground over six or seven times, until it is in the form of a fine paste or batter. This is then made into *tortillas* (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). In Yucatan the ordinary form of *tortilla* is about four inches in diameter, whereas among the Lacandones the size often approaches nine or ten inches.

There is a form of *tortilla* (*op*) called in Spanish *tostados* or *totopostle* (Nahuatl *totopochtli*). These are browned and resemble more nearly the cracker. The *totopostle* are made in large numbers at one time, and are used as desired by simply warming them in the ashes.

Another form in which the maize is largely used is called *posol* (*maao*), a drink. The corn is first boiled without lye and then ground moist as before. Masses of this are then wrapped in banana leaves, and it is used as desired. These bundles of ground corn furnish the principal food when journeys are undertaken. A handful of the corn is mixed thoroughly with water. This forms a most refreshing as well as a nourishing drink. The corn in this form is considered better if it has soured.

**Tšokosäka** is a drink made of the ground corn used in making *tortillas* mixed with warm water and taken hot. **Saqnum** is made of the corn treated with lye mixed with water and the whole boiled together. **Qa** is a drink made from corn ground dried after being roasted.

The third way in which the corn is used is in the form of *tamales*. The maize serves as a covering for an interior of *chile*, meat, or *frejoles*. The whole is then wrapped in a large leaf and boiled or steamed. Among the Lacandones a great quantity of these *tamales* are made of corn and *frejoles*. They are called *buliwa*, and are one of the principal offerings made to their gods in the religious rites (p. 102).

Throughout Yucatan, as well as Chiapas, the Mexicans and

other inhabitants have very generally adopted the food native to the country.

In the fields between the hills of corn are planted *camotes* (*ts*),<sup>1</sup> a species of sweet potato. When fully grown, their presence in the ground is indicated by a slight cracking in the surface of the soil. A pointed stick is all that is used in digging them out. *Yucca* (*cin*), a farinaceous plant, is also grown in the same field with the corn as well as a small tomato (*beyantšan*). *Frejoles* (*buul*), a species of black kidney bean, form with the *tortilla* the daily food of the Maya. The beans are boiled and eaten with *chile*. Sugar cane and bananas are grown extensively.

Among the Lacandones tobacco (*quə*) finds a place in their fields. Native cotton (*taman*) is extensively grown. This is spun, woven, and made into clothing. In Yucatan the principal product outside of the corn (*tsim*) is *henequen* (*soskil*). The cultivation of this plant would be impossible but for the presence of the natives. The entire working force on the *haciendas* is composed of Mayas.

**Hunting.**—Next to the cultivation of corn, the hunt furnishes the most important means of obtaining food. The Lacandones use the bow and arrow (Pl. X, Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup> in killing their game, which ranges in size from the smallest birds up to the mountain lion. The Indians have great accuracy of aim and put great force into sending the shaft. The description of the bow and the several kinds of arrow will be taken up later (p. 57). The necessity of offering meat to the idols of the gods in their ceremonies causes the Lacandone to devote much time to the hunt. They often leave the hut before daybreak

<sup>1</sup> For the botanical names, see under Flora, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXIX, p. 170: "Que tenían armas ofensivas y defensivas. Ofensivas eran arcos y flechas que llevaban en su cargaje con pedernales por caxillos y dientes de pescados muy agudas, las quales tiran con gran destreza y fuerza."

Also cf. Sapper, 1897, p. 261: "Zur Jagd verwenden die Lacandonen noch immer Bogen und Pfeile, letztere mit Feuersteinspitzen, welche sie mittelst eines Hornmeissels spalten."

and return late at night, and very seldom with empty hands. All the Mayas of the peninsula, together with the Lacandones who live nearest the settlements of the Mexicans, use in place of the bow and arrow the old muzzle-loading musket and the powder horn. The natives of both localities are skillful in imitating the cries and calls of animals and birds. The cry of the young *venado* is very faithfully reproduced by a horn whistle, which the natives manufacture. Often a large number of Indians will join together for a general hunt, and the results are divided on the return.

*Venado*, a small deer, and wild turkeys are the principal game in Yucatan. Partridge and quail are also plenty. In the region of the Usumacinta River, practically all the animals known to the colder parts of the torrid zone abound. Monkeys of several varieties furnish a constant source of food.<sup>1</sup>

**Fishing.** — The natives of the coast of Yucatan engage extensively in fishing. Owing to the lack of rivers and lakes, however, the greater part of the Mayas of the peninsula have no knowledge of the industry. Among the Lacandones it is quite different, as rivers and lakes abound and they are well stocked with fish. Among the most important are the *saktan* or *nahwa* (Spanish *sardina*), *sohom*, *tšäklau*, which is a red fish, *makabil*, *tšäkbil*, and *tšäkal*. Turtles and turtle eggs form a large supply of food. As many as four hundred or five hundred eggs are sometimes found in one hunt. Fresh-water crabs and snails (*toť*) are numerous. The natives of Chiapas have a primitive way of catching fish. They shoot them from the end of a canoe with a wooden-pointed arrow (Pl. X, Fig. 2). They are very expert in this. They also have come to know the use of the hook and line, and they are skillful in making nets. A spear about eight feet long is sometimes used in catching fish and turtles. This has a detachable point hung by a cord.

**Navigation.** — Along the coast of Yucatan, especially on the eastern side, on the Usumacinta River and its tributaries, and on the lakes of Chiapas and Guatemala, navigation is engaged

<sup>1</sup> See p. 22 for a more complete list of animals hunted for game.

in extensively by the natives. As has been noted (p. 9), Columbus on his last voyage encountered a canoe some way out at sea which probably came from Yucatan. The early Mayas and the Lacandones of the present time use the cayuco, or dugout (~~them~~). It is made of a mahogany log, and is often thirty or more feet in length, three feet in breadth, and capable of carrying fifteen or twenty men.

**Weaving.**—The Mexican influence seen throughout the peninsula, with the exception of the narrow strip along the eastern coast, has robbed the Mayas of many of their former arts and industries by furnishing them with substitutes,—the gun for the bow and arrow and cotton cloth for the hand-woven clothing. The Lacandones, however, still keep up the practice of their former arts of spinning and weaving, basket and pottery making, and the fashioning of the bow and arrow. There is some fear that the arts of spinning and weaving, long since vanished from Yucatan, will also disappear from among the Lacandones in another generation. They now buy the cotton cloth of Mexican manufacture for their commonest clothes. Every Indian along the Usumacinta still has his cotton patch, however. The wives gather the product and spin it upon a spindle composed of a slender pointed stick about ten inches long, which passes through a small ball or disk either of wood or bone. The spindle is twisted between the fingers as the lower end rests in a small gourd, which is either held between the knees or placed on the ground in front of the person. The mass of unspun cotton rests on the shoulder, and, as it is spun, it is wound on the spindle (Pl. XI, Fig. 1). The coarse yarn thus made is used directly in the loom. The colored thread used in making a woman's skirt is usually obtained from the Mexicans in trade.

The loom is of the same form as is seen among the Mexican Indians (Pl. XII, Fig. 1), the Pueblo peoples, and the Navajos. The position of the loom is horizontal rather than vertical, as among the Navajos. The Lacandone loom has two bamboo reeds fastened to the finished cloth to hold it out to the desired width, as the piece of cloth woven is often eight

or ten feet long. As it is finished it is wound up on the top cross stick. A shuttle is used in weaving the plain garments. The end of the loom where the work is being done is fastened by a band around the waist of the weaver<sup>1</sup> and the other end is tied to a post or tree. The worker then sits as far back as possible from the post to give the required tension (Pl. XI, Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The cloth is always woven in one straight piece, and is sewed together afterward in forming either the *poncho*-like upper garment of the men and women alike or the scant skirt of the women. The looms are all about the same width, which is not over two and a half feet.

Another form of weaving is seen in the manufacture of hammocks. According to Don Juan Molina Solis,<sup>3</sup> the hammock is not, as is commonly supposed, native to the Mayas of Yucatan, but its use was introduced by the Spaniards, who first brought it from the island of Santo Domingo. The hammock is now used universally throughout Yucatan by the Mexicans as well as by the Mayas. A swinging



FIG. 1.  
Tro-Cort. 79, c.

seat much like a hammock is suspended in a tree and used by hunters at night. This, according to Mr. E. H. Thompson, is native to the country, and may be the ancestor of the hammock.<sup>4</sup> The hammocks are all of native workmanship, and are

<sup>1</sup> Compare the loom used among the Pokomchi Indians pictured by Sapper, 1904, a, Plate IV, Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 1 shows an interesting parallel taken from the Codex Tro-Cortesianus.

<sup>3</sup> Molina, 1896, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> An Italian Ms. in the British Museum by Galeotto Cey (*Viaggio e Relazione delle Indie, 1539-1552*) has upon the margin of one of the pages an interesting ink sketch of a hammock, called *amaccor*, probably the first picture of a hammock from the Indies.

usually made of *henequen*. This is first twisted into cord by rolling it on the bare knee with the palm of the hand. The strands are then woven on frames set up in the domestic hut. The Lacandones also use the hammock for sleeping. They make them only for their own use, and it is almost impossible to find one which may be bought. The cord is a species of *agave* fiber, and is twisted in the same manner as in Yucatan. The hammock, however, is quite different. It is not woven in the strict sense of the word, but is composed of parallel cords knotted together at intervals of about six inches (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). The finished hammock is only about three feet wide and seven feet long, whereas that of Yucatan is often sixteen feet long and can be stretched out to a great width. The Lacandone hammock, owing to the nature of its construction, cannot be stretched. The natives of Chiapas also make a hammock with the ordinary checker-board weave.

Still another form of weaving among the Lacandones is seen in the manufacture of the carrying nets or bags which are carried supported on the back by a strap or cord going over the forehead. These are used principally to bring corn and other products from the *milpa*. These bags are made of *agave* fiber, and are netted rather than woven.

Baskets are made both by the Mayas and the Lacandones. They are crude affairs, however, and have little or no artistic value. Coiled basketry is unknown. The form usually taken by the Maya baskets is that of a wide-mouthed bowl with straight sides. Bird cages of basketry are often made in both localities. These are round and come to a point at the top. When the huts of the natives have doors, as is the case in most parts of Yucatan, they are usually made of vines or *bejucos* woven on upright sticks.

**Manufacture of Bows and Arrows.** — The Lacandones seem to devote all their artistic strength to the manufacture of their bows (tšulul or pooptše) and arrows (hāl or herlerl) (Fig. 2, p. 58). These bows and arrows in their shape and finish certainly show a love of the beautiful in their fashioners. The bow

is made of the wood of the *guayacan* or *lignum vitæ* (*Guaicum sanctum*), which is especially adapted by reason of its strength and elasticity. The only tool used in the manufacture of the bows and arrows is

the *machete*, now to be found everywhere throughout most of the territory occupied by the Lacandones. The natives who live between Lake Petha and Ocosingo in Chiapas seem to be the principal fashioners of the bows. They get out the wood, shape it rudely, and then barter it with the Lacandones of other regions. The wood of which the bow is made is full of pitch. This is extracted by heating in the fire. Heat is also used in straightening and shaping the arrows. The bow is usually a little shorter than the person for whom it is intended. The general length is about five feet six inches. They are nearly straight, curving slightly in the direction opposite to that when drawn. The cross section of the middle of the bow approaches an ellipse, the larger diameter about an inch. This decreases toward the ends, which are round in cross section and about a half inch in diameter. The bow string is made

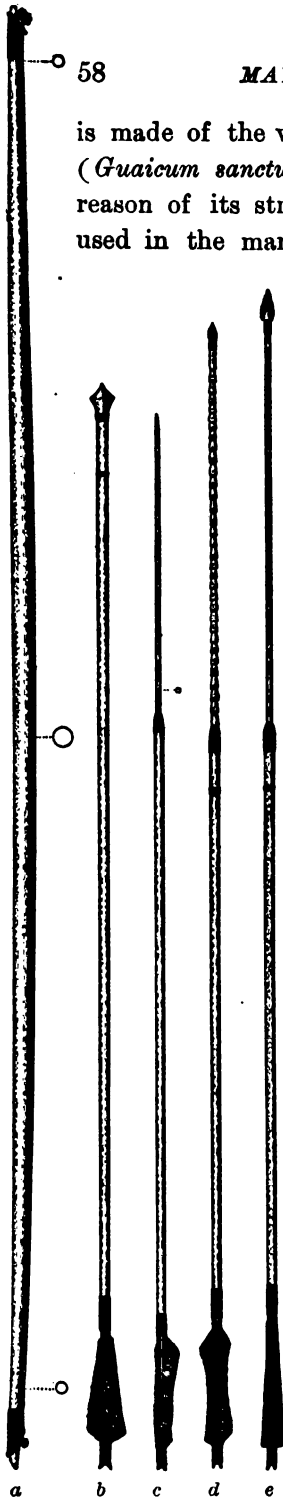


FIG. 2.

Lacandone bow and arrows (after Maler): *a*, bow; *b*, bird bolt; *c*, wooden pointed arrow for fish and small game; *d*, stone-pointed backed arrow; *e*, stone-pointed arrow. Scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

of twisted *agave* fiber. The upper tip of the bow is called *uni*, its nose; the middle of the back *upatš*, its back; the middle of the front *utan*, its middle; and the end resting on the ground *utšun*, its stem.<sup>1</sup>

The arrows in their finish are works of art. They are of three kinds, according to their intended use. The arrows used with the largest bows are about four feet six inches long, with the exception of the bird bolt, which is slightly over four feet. All the arrows have two clipped feathers (*ušik*, its wing) at the end, at right angles to the notch for the bow string. This notch is made in a separate piece of wood, which is inserted into the hollow end of the reed forming the shaft of the arrow. The feathers are from the buzzard (*balunkuk* or *kon-toq*), two species of parrots (*mo* and *qiman*), and two species of hawk (*ekpip* and *suktšitš*). Both feathers on the same arrow are usually from the same bird. Large quantities of feathers are usually kept on hand. Each is strung upon a cord, and the whole carefully wrapped in bark fiber until they are used.

A set of arrows is usually composed of twelve: a bird bolt (*pakat*) (*b*, Fig. 2), four unpointed (*c*, Fig. 2), two stone-pointed and the foreshafts barbed (*d*, Fig. 2), and five stone-pointed and the foreshafts either square or round (*e*, Fig. 2). The bird bolt is made of a hollow reed (Spanish *carrizo* or *caña brava*). It is very light in weight. The point is made of wood and is very blunt. This arrow is designed for use in capturing birds alive, as it stuns rather than kills them. All the arrows other than the bird bolt are made with a shaft (*her-lerl*) and foreshaft (*tšuste*). The shaft is always made of the same hollow light reed as the bird bolt, and is about two feet ten inches long for use with the bow of five feet six inches. The foreshaft is about one foot eight inches long, and is either round in cross section or square. This is made of several

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the Lacandone bow and arrow and a comparison with those of other Central American peoples, see Sapper, 1903, p. 56, Figs. 15-17, *d*.



kinds of wood. The *palo de tinta* or logwood (**eq**) is often found. The *chicosapote* (**sākya**) is also a common wood for the foreshaft.<sup>1</sup>

The foreshaft is tipped with a stone point (**toq**) generally of flint<sup>2</sup> but sometimes of obsidian, bone, or glass. The base of the point is sunk in a notch (**upak**) in the end of the foreshaft, which is afterward wound with sinew heavily coated with wax. By holding the end over the fire for a moment, the wax melts and the whole is rubbed smooth, making a firm joint. The point of insertion (**uqaš**, its band) of the foreshaft



FIG. 3.

Package of flint flakes from which arrow points are made. (After Maler.)

into the hollow reed which is the shaft is wound firmly with the waxed sinew (**tšukikib**).

The chipping of the flint is easily and quickly done by means of a knuckle bone or piece of steel. The chipping of the flake from the large core is done after heating the latter in the fire. The flake which is to be pointed is held in the left hand between the thumb and forefinger, the former being protected by a piece of bark fiber. The bone or steel is held in the right hand. The point is easily made into the desired shape by pressure alone.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The names in Maya for some of the varieties of wood employed in the foreshafts, some of which I have been unable to identify, are as follows: **q̄iis**, **moste**, **tšākya**, **uqaqtše**, **kektše**, and **kuktše**.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 3 (after Maler, 1901-1903, p. 37) shows a package of flint flakes from which arrow points are made.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sapper, 1897, p. 261: "Ich selbst habe nicht Gelegenheit gehabt, das Verfertigen von Pfeilspitzen mit anzusehen; dagegen sah ich am See Pet Ha in Chiapas zu, wie ein Lacandone abgebrochene Pfeilspitzen wieder schärfte; er

In every set of twelve arrows, there are usually two whose foreshaft is cut into barbs either on one or both sides. This arrow (*tututá*) is used for shooting monkeys in order that it cannot be pulled out. For shooting fish and small birds an arrow is used of the same form as the stone-tipped arrow with the stone point lacking. The wooden foreshaft is simply sharpened.

The arrow release is the "primary release," with the arrow between the thumb and the second joint of the forefinger. Owing to the great length of the arrow, the bow, when pulled, has necessarily to make a large arc in order that the arrow may be aimed correctly. The male children have arrows suitable to their size, which they always carry with them. They early become expert in shooting.

The bows and arrows are often used as ceremonial objects. They are made and presented to the idols in behalf of the gods as a prayer for success in the hunt. Two round spots of red paint are placed on the shaft of the arrows when they are thus offered. When a son arrives at the age of puberty, the father offers a set of arrows and a bow to the gods (Chant No. 1<sup>1</sup>).

The bark stripped from a young *ceiba* (*yaštē*) is used to wrap around the bow and arrows as a sort of quiver. During the last few years, the Mexicans living in the *monterias* adjacent

riss mit der unteren Kante eines starken Messers Splitterchen um Splitterchen von der Pfeilspitze weg, die er fest in der Hand hielt, und nach kaum einer Minute war aus den abgebrochenen Trumm eine kleine scharfe Pfeilspitze geworden."

Professor Saville of Columbia University has kindly placed at my disposal the following unpublished communication of Dr. Hermann Berendt to the American Ethnological Society, November 12, 1873, regarding a method of arrow chipping: "The mode of making arrow heads from flint stone, still in use, among the Lacandones is very similar to that already described by Colonel Jones. The nucleus being placed on the calf of the leg, a sharpened deer horn is used as a chisel and a piece of hard wood as a hammer to separate the flakes. It is probable that the same proceeding was known in Yucatan, for while living in Campeche a sepulcher was opened, and in an earthen bowl, besides some obsidian and flint implements, a deer horn was found with identically sharpened points."

<sup>1</sup> This and succeeding chants will be found at the end of the volume.

to the settlements of the Lacandones have found that there is a market for the bows and arrows in the Mexican towns. As a consequence, some of the less retiring of the natives have been persuaded to make sets of bows and arrows for sale. It is very seldom, however, that they will consent to part with those they actually use in hunting, as in many cases these also have some ceremonial use.

No trace of the bow and arrow has been found in Yucatan, although we have many references to their use by early writers for offensive weapons.<sup>1</sup>

**Pottery Making.** — Pottery making still exists in Yucatan in the manufacture of the earthen water jars. A centre of this industry is in Ticul, south of Merida, Yucatan. The jars are used by the women throughout the peninsula in carrying water from the cenote or well to their huts. The usual form of vessel has two handles opposite each other. They are made by hand with the help of a smooth wooden paddle. The mass of wet clay rests on a square block of wood which is turned by the feet of the modeler as he sits on a stool before the pot (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). This may be an interesting and early form of the potter's wheel.<sup>2</sup> After the jar is shaped by hand, it is baked in a wood fire to complete it. An interesting survival of form but with the change of material is seen in the jars which are now made of tin. They are of the same shape as the earthen ones. These are used in great numbers by the natives living around Palenque in the state of Chiapas. The shape of the pots makes them admirably fitted to be carried on the hip, as is the universal custom.

Among the Lacandones the jar-shaped water pots are not found, as all the water is carried in large hollow gourds. Earthen vessels of all sizes, however, are made by the natives

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Relacion de la Ciudad de Merida," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 41: "Las armas con que los yndios peleaban en la guerra eran arcos de palo y flechas de cañas delgadas con puntas de pedernal," and in "Relacion de Tahzib," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 187, "—peleaban con arco y flechas puesto un pedernal en la punta."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mercer, 1897.

of Chiapas. Bowls for food are modeled by hand, the clay resting on a banana leaf which readily turns on the board on which it rests. The clay incense-burners of the Lacandones will be described in detail later, when taking up the religion of the Lacandones (p. 84). The ceremonial drum is also another example of the potter's art among these natives. It is often of a graceful shape and with the same crude, mask-like face seen on the incense-burners (Pl. XX, Fig. 2). Jars of a slightly different shape from that of the drum are made for holding the ceremonial drink (baltse). These pots have a much shorter neck than those of the drums, and rest on three very short legs (p. 114). Some of these also have the crude head on one side. It is smaller, however, and much more insignificant than the head on the drum.

**Apiculture** is practiced among both the Mayas and the Lacandones. Among the latter people it has a ceremonial significance. Hollow logs are placed inside the sacred house of the gods, and the deposition of the honey by the bees has a religious meaning.<sup>1</sup>

**Fire Making.** — Under the head of industries would come the making of fire. The flint and steel is known throughout Yucatan and a part of the territory of the Lacandones. In certain of the ceremonies among the latter people, it is necessary to make new fire. The simple "two-piece" apparatus is used (Pl. XXV, Fig. 2). An upright stick is twisted between the palms of the hands and one end of the stick rests in a groove of a horizontal one which lies on the ground. The friction thus made ignites some tinder made of logwood shavings, which in turn is used to light the wood already prepared for the fire.

**House Building.** — The dwellings of both the Mayas and the Lacandones are practically identical in construction. The only difference is that the house of the native of Chiapas is really little more than a shelter and often has no sides and doors as do the houses in Yucatan. The usual form of house found through-

<sup>1</sup> The bee industry, probably from a ceremonial standpoint, is pictured at great length in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus, 103-112.

out the peninsula is oblong with rounded ends. There are two doors opposite each other in the sides which face the street or path on which the house is located. In the native huts in the towns of Yucatan, at either side of the door facing the street, there is a protruding wall connecting the house with the stone wall which invariably starts at either side of the entrance to the hut. The better type of Maya dwellings always has a smaller and less carefully built structure in the yard behind, where all the cooking is done.

*houses*

The framework of the roof rests on four forked posts, which stand at each corner of the house. The roof is thus independent of the sides and walls, which are made either of slender sticks set close together and covered with mud or palm leaves, or of rock and plaster, the form usually seen in the villages. In the early *Relaciones* references are made to the palm-leaf huts as being more healthful than those built of stone.<sup>1</sup> The steep roof, which comes down very low, is made of palm leaves tied to a framing by flexible vines.<sup>2</sup> The parts of the frame itself are also tied with the vines or *bejucos*. The doors are usually made of wickerwork.<sup>3</sup>

The huts of the Lacandones seldom have rounded ends and often no sides. The roof, especially that of the ceremonial shelter, comes down very low and serves in place of walls. The gable ends, however, are open. In the material used and the method of construction, the huts are identical with those of the Mayas (Pl. VIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3).

<sup>1</sup> "Relacion ce Quizil y Sitipeche," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 219: "Comunmente los yndios hazen sus casas de madera y baraçon cubiertas de paja y de hojas de palmas que en algunas partes ay en abundancia aunque pudieran hazerlas de piedra por aber mucha en la tierra, — dizen que lo hazen por mas sano beber en las casas de paja que de piedra por causa de las calores que hazen desde el mes de abril hasta setiembre."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XX, p. 110: "Que la manera de hazer las casas era cubrirlas de paja que tienen muy buena y mucha, o con hojas de palma que es propria para esto."

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed drawing showing the construction of the Kekchi home, which resembles in general plan that of the Maya, see Sapper, 1904, a, Plate V.

## ARTISTIC ACTIVITY

**Decoration.** — In the decorative art, the Mayas are very low in the scale of human culture.

The kind of civilization which the Maya has received from the Spaniards has rendered him an impossible subject for a study of primitive art. The Lacandonese, on the other hand, one would imagine might furnish a fertile field for this study. They are, however, nearly as destitute of any evidences of artistic activity as are the natives of the peninsula.

An attempt at decoration among the Lacandonese is found on the gourd vessels in which they offer *posol* and *baltze* to the idols in behalf of the gods. The designs (Figs. 4-15, pp. 66-68)<sup>1</sup> are remarkably crude in their conception. They are made by incised lines on the rounded surface of the gourd. It was impossible to obtain a satisfactory explanation for any of the figures except those which were said to be men. These are curiously drawn, showing the ribs and backbone. The greater part of the designs are star-shaped figures surrounding the slight projection where the stem of the gourd has been broken off. Many of the vessels have parallel wavy lines running around them. The name *uhotal*, the generic name for decoration or adornment, was the only answer to questioning in regard to the significance of the designs. However full of symbolism these designs may once have been, it is lost among the Lacandonese of the present time. The figures certainly have no hieroglyphic significance. Mr. Sapper mentions the designs he saw on the drinking vessels, but he does not seem to attach any importance whatever to the meaning of the figures.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an interesting design on a gourd vessel, see also Pl. XXI, Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sapper, 1897, p. 262.

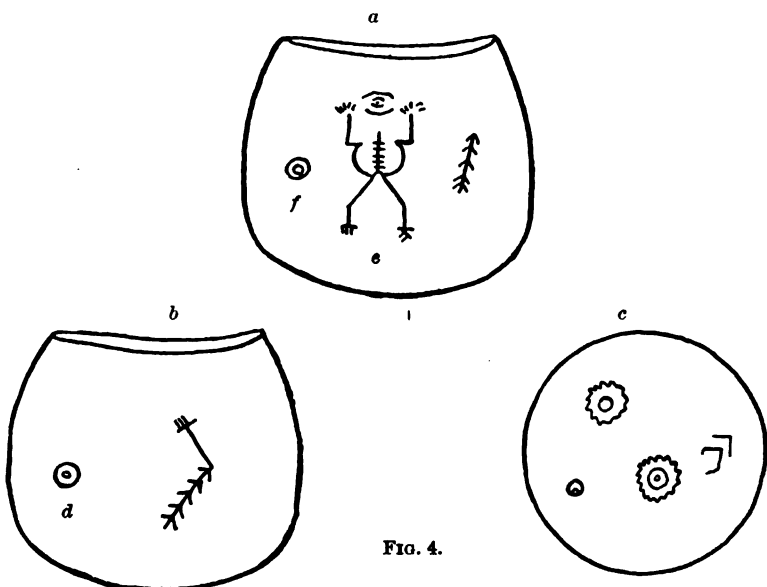


FIG. 4.

*a, b, designs on opposite sides of jicara for baltše; c, design on bottom of same jicara; d, decoration at stem end (utšutš); e, a man (winik); f, decoration at blossom end (uyit or utob).*

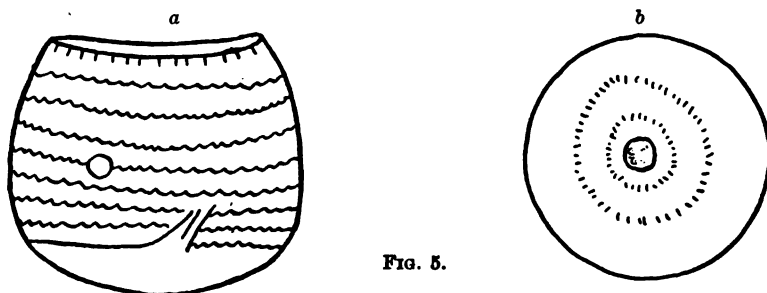


FIG. 5.

*a, side of jicara for baltše; b, bottom of same jicara.*

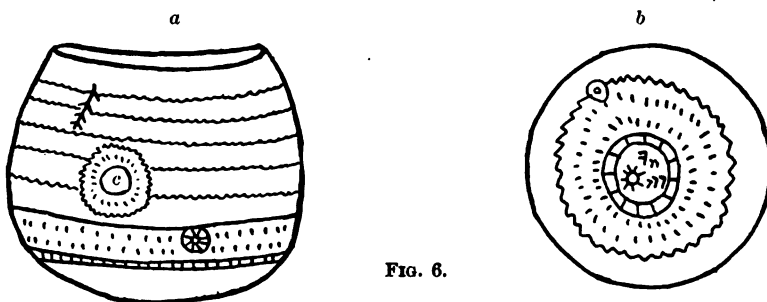


FIG. 6.

*a, side of jicara for baltše; b, bottom of same jicara; c, stem end.*

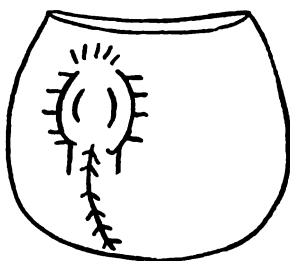


FIG. 7.

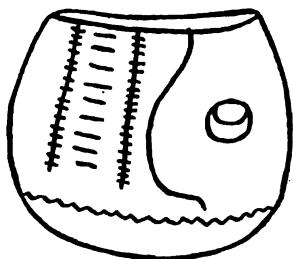


FIG. 8.

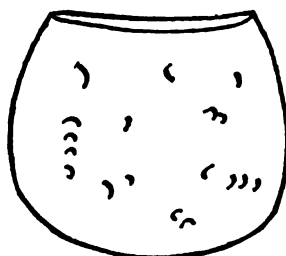


FIG. 9.

Figs. 7-9, designs on *jicaras* for *balšė*.

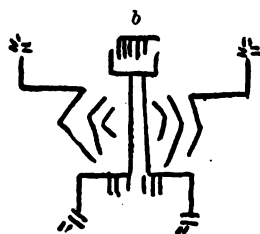
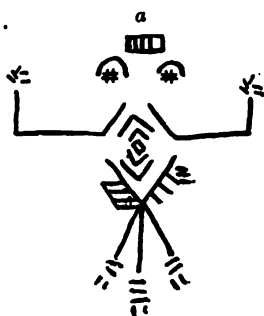


FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

Figs. 10 and 11, *a* and *b*, designs on opposite sides of *jicaras* for *balšė*.

Figs. 10-12 represent men.



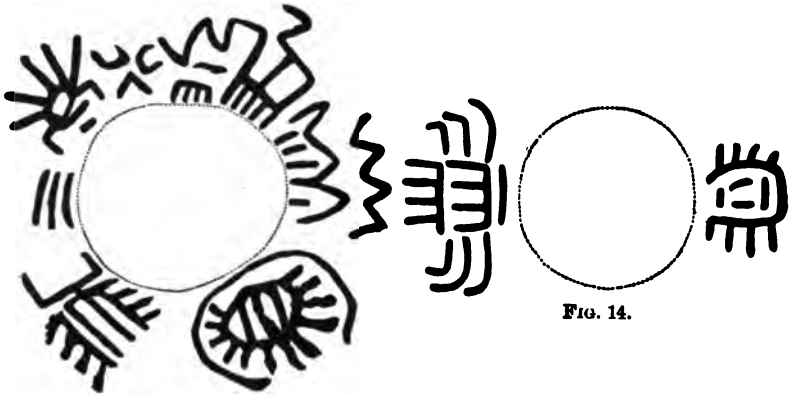


FIG. 13.

Designs on *jicaras*. (After Maler, 1901-1903, Figs. 6 and 7.)

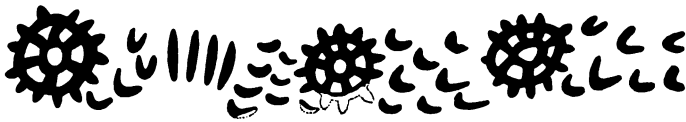


FIG. 15.

Design on *jicara*. (After an unpublished drawing by Maler.)

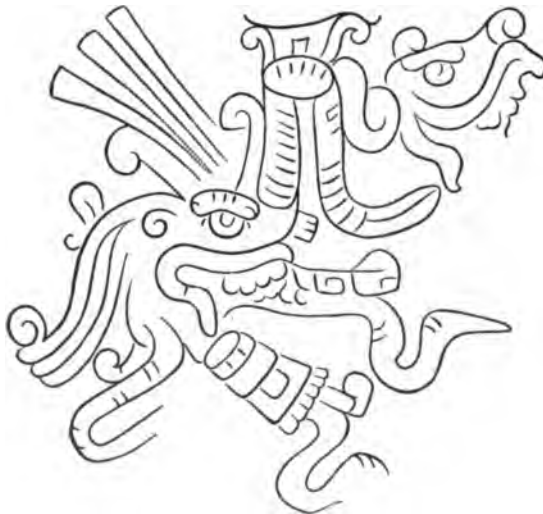


FIG. 16.

Figure on cliff, Petha. (After Maler.)

Figure 16<sup>1</sup> shows a design made on the face of a high cliff which rises directly from the water in Lake Petha in Chiapas. Behind this cliff, as will be described later (p. 148), a rite performed in behalf of one of the gods was witnessed. I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation of this figure other than that it was done by the god who inhabited the cliff. Besides this design, there are several hand prints in red, some parallel lines, and a crude human figure (Fig. 17). Undoubtedly the latter designs were made by the Lacandones now inhabiting the country. It is probable, on the other hand, that the figure of the two-headed serpent (Fig. 16), from the nature of the design and the method of carrying it out, was made by a people who possessed a higher artistic level than that which the Lacandones of the present time seem to have attained.

The incense-burners of the Lacandones show decoration of two kinds, a crude attempt at sculpture and at painting (Pl. XV, Fig. 2). The result cannot be said to be in any way artistic or carefully carried out. The head has a roughness which even its ugliness cannot hide, and the decoration is correspondingly crude. The red paint is made of the *achiote* berry (*Bixa orellana*), which is ground and mixed with water. The black is the soot formed in burning *copal* gum under an overturned *olla*. This making of soot has a ceremonial significance which will be described later (p. 71),

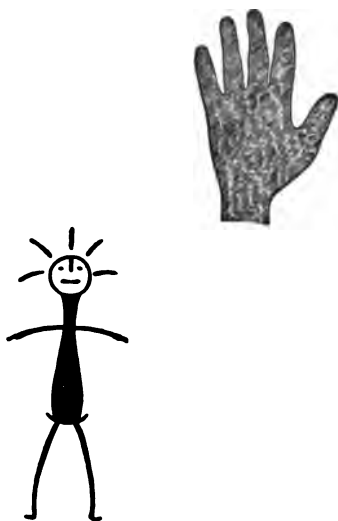


FIG. 17.  
Figures on cliff, Petha.  
(After Maler.)

<sup>1</sup> I have taken this drawing from Maler (1901-1903, p. 30, Fig. 9), as my sketch of the same figure is inferior, since it was impossible to trace it as Mr. Maler has done, or even to get anywhere near it on account of the lowness of the water below the cliff on which the drawing occurs.

as also the meaning of the shape and decoration of the incense-burner (p. 84).

Besides these *ollas* for burning incense, there are other objects which show decoration. The gourd rattle (Fig. 19, p. 75), used as an accompaniment to the singing in certain of the rites, is decorated with red and black lines which, as far as could be ascertained, have as little significance as the lines on the gourd vessels. The round part of the rattle is divided into quarters by double red lines (*uotbal*, anything written) running from the knob of *copal* on top to the place where the handle of reeds is inserted. Between the double line there is a row of holes (*uábil uwitá*). At the lower end of the handle are thirteen streamers made of fiber bark colored red and decorated with cross lines.

The chief priest in certain of the ceremonies wears a robe (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2) decorated with a design in red and black (Pl. XV, Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The red in this case is made from the *achiote* berry and logwood. The black is the soot of the *copal* mixed with the extract made of the logwood, which, as in the former case, serves as a mordant. The garment is woven by hand and is white, with the exception of two fine red and blue lines which are woven on each edge of the cloth. The form of the robe is the same as the ordinary *poncho*, worn by the men and women alike. As has been noted before, the cloth in the native loom is narrow, and two strips have to be sewed together to give the desired width to the garment. The seam comes in the middle of the front and back. As the red and blue line is woven into the very edge of the cloth, this sewing together makes a double line of red and blue in the center of the front and back, in addition to the other decoration, which is painted. The two lengths are sewed together with white

<sup>1</sup> I did not see this robe used in any of the rites. From the nature of its decoration and the slight information that could be obtained, it seems to be for use in a rite performed when rain is desired.

Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. I, Chap. V, p. 21, mentions a long robe found in one of the sacred huts and states that it belonged to one of the priests.

thread, with the exception of a small portion about halfway down the front and back, where red and blue threads are used. The other decoration is all done with paint. The whole garment is thickly spotted with red and black dots. With the exception of a zone about a foot in width at the top of the garment and another at the bottom, there is scattered at less frequent intervals than the dots a design of a broken circle in black with red and black dots in the center, the number of which vary from three to six. This circle may represent the earthen cover which is placed over the burning *copal* to collect the soot for the manufacture of the black paint (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). This process has a ceremonial object as well. The rounded interior of the cover represents the dome of the heavens and the soot collected in it is symbolic of the black rain cloud. The god of rain is called **Mensabak** (the maker of the black powder or soot). It is probable that the figures of the broken circles on the ceremonial robe represent the bottom of this cover used to collect the soot, not only when it is desired for paint, but in certain of the rites when rain is needed. The breaks in the circles are the holes at the bottom edge of the cover which allow the air to enter. The dots inside the circles and over the other parts of the garment may represent the rain.

About halfway down the *poncho* in the center of the right side is represented in solid black a female kid (**yuk**),<sup>1</sup> and on the opposite side a male of the same animal. The kid is not, as one might suppose, the totemic animal of the encampment where the robe was made. The reason for its portrayal could not be ascertained. Below this animal on either side is a group of concentric circles in red and black. These are said to be the breasts (**uyim**) of the robe. Outside these circles toward the side of the garment is a star-shaped figure representing a tarantula (**toi**) of a harmless variety. This is said to have been the first thing the owner of the robe had seen after

<sup>1</sup> **Yuk**, among the Lacandones, is translated by the Spanish word *cabrito*, a young goat. Among the Mayas, **yuk** is given to the *venado colorado*.

he had begun to decorate the *poncho*. This was probably not undertaken until after a rite of some kind had been performed.

Down the center of the robe on either side, just outside the red and blue line woven in the cloth, but only in the middle zone described before, is a broken line in alternate red and black. The term *uolbal*, its writing, is given as the name of the line. Around the edge of the garment are groups of semicircular concentric lines of red and black inclosing usually two dots. The word *uyokil*, its feet or border, is the only explanation that could be obtained for this part of the decoration. This robe shows the most elaborate attempt at ornamentation found among the Lacandones.

Besides this ceremonial garment, the ordinary *poncho* shows signs of decoration. Red paint is offered to the gods (p. 141) as a part of one of the rites. It is then used to decorate the clothes of the participants in the rite in question. Spots of the paint are scattered over the whole garment without any seeming order (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1). These fade in time to a yellow. In some cases the *poncho* of the leader of the ceremony has circles made upon it representing the breasts seen in the ceremonial robe.

There is also an attempt at decoration seen in the ceremonial hut. On the ends of the two cross beams and also near the tops of the upright posts on the western side of the hut, on either side of the hanging shelf where the idols are kept, there are two circles of red. These may represent the red bands of fiber bark (*huun*) used in some of the rites to tie around the heads of the participants. In one instance the circle contained a cross inside, which may have had some astronomical signification. The hollow log (*tsem*) which serves as a reservoir for the ceremonial drink also has the two red circles painted upon it for the same signification.

The decoration of the person is not especially marked. After the rite where a gourd of red paint is offered to the gods (p. 141), in addition to the painting of the *ponchos*, the

faces of the participants are also painted. The men have spots of red upon the chin and on the forehead and short lines under the eyes.<sup>1</sup> This is the same decoration seen on the incense-burners. The leader in this rite has two circles of red running around each ankle and wrist. These probably correspond to the two circles on the beams and post of the ceremonial hut, on the reservoir for *baltze*, and on the arrows when offered to the gods. In one case observed, a baby had his legs entirely painted with the red color.

Among the natives on the Lacantun River, in place of the spot of red in the middle of the forehead, there is a line of red running down from the center of the forehead to the end of the nose, and the lines under the eyes are longer than those seen on the faces of the natives at Lake Petha. The spot on the chin is the same in both cases. This difference in painting has some totemic or tribal difference which I was unable to make out. It may, however, be coincident with the two different types of incense-burners and with the different gods found in the two places. No painting of the body with a black color according to many of the early accounts was observed.

**Music.** — Music plays a surprisingly small part in the daily life of either the Mayas or the Lacandones. They cannot be said to be a musical people. The contrast is very marked when one is accustomed to hear the singing and playing of the Mexicans. Very few of the Mayas have good voices and their singing is harsh and unmusical. The grossest discords do not seem to be noticed.

In addition to the many modern musical instruments which have been brought into the country, the Mayas have a few which are clearly a survival of the time when music played a part



FIG. 18.  
Dres. 8, b.

<sup>1</sup> Figure 18, a figure from the Dresden Codex, shows spots of black paint on the chin and forehead.

in their ceremonies. One example of the musical bow was observed.<sup>1</sup> This was made of a flexible rod and the sinewy fiber of a tree as the string. The cord is made to vibrate between the lips much in the manner of the Jew's harp as it is struck with a stick. Distinct musical sounds are thus produced.

The drum is found made of a hollow log with two tongues of wood of different thickness which are struck with a beater. This same form of drum is found among the natives of Mexico, and it may have been brought into Yucatan by early settlers from that country.

Among the Lacandones the ceremonial drum is still used (Pl. XX, Fig. 2). This is made of an earthen jar with the mouth covered with a piece of skin. The drum stands on a base made of twisted vines. It is struck with the palms of the hands. There are often two placed side by side in the ceremonial hut and beaten at the same time. This form of drum always has upon one side a head fashioned in clay similar in all respects to that seen on the incense-burners. The drum is a god in itself and called *Qatyum*, the singing god.

The conch-shell trumpet is also used in the rites of the Lacandones. It is blown in a single note after food has been offered to the idols. This is to call the gods to come down and partake of the offerings which have been placed on the lips of the incense-burners.

Among the Lacandones a crude form of xylophone was observed. It was in such imperfect repair that it was impossible to ascertain the scale used among the Mayas. The idea may easily have been introduced by the Mexicans living in Chiapas, as the *marimba* is common among them.

A very interesting form of reed oboe (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3) is used quite extensively among the Lacandones. The mouthpiece consists of a quill inserted in the end of the hollow reed. The opening where the sound is produced is built up and surrounded by a mass of pitch. There are five finger holes. This flute is often used as a ceremonial object and offered to the gods. In

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Saville, 1897, pp. 272-273.

such a case red paint is placed around each of the finger holes.<sup>1</sup>

The Lacandone ceremonial rattle (*soot*) has been mentioned under the head of decorations (p. 70). It is composed of a round gourd through which there runs a wooden stick (Fig. 19). At the top, the end of the stick is held in place by a knob of *copal* gum. The other end of the stick serves as the center of the handle, and is surrounded by six or eight slender reeds, the upper ends of which pierce the gourd in a circle around the center hole where the main handle enters. These reeds are bound around the handle by a winding of bark, and the ends of the strips of bark hang down in thirteen streamers from the lower part of the composite handle.<sup>2</sup>

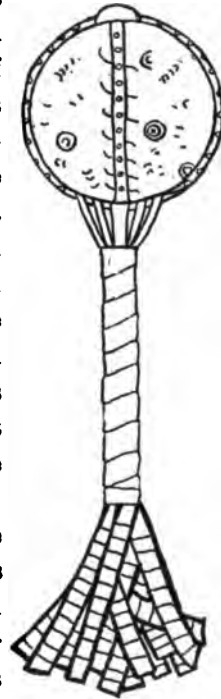


FIG. 19.  
Lacandone rattle.

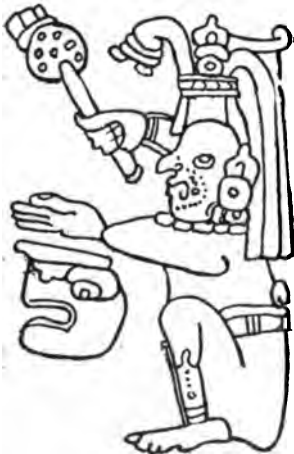


FIG. 20.  
Tro-Cort. 67, a.

A sort of rude guitar (*petšaktšē*) is made of a flat and thin rectangular board with cross pieces at either end, over which five strings of *henequen* are strung. There is no way of tightening the strings, and there is no approach to a scale.

The Mayas of Yucatan make a whistle of horn with which they imitate the cry of the young deer. They use this in hunting.

<sup>1</sup> Starr (1902, a, Fig. 15) describes and pictures a similar flute, but with four finger holes, used among the Nalmas in the dance called *el Toro de Cuero*. See also Seler (1899) for representations of flute and other musical instruments found in the Codices.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 24 is a picture of a rattle used among the Mayas and made in a similar way as regards the handle. Cf. also Fig. 20, from the Codex Tro-Cortesianus.



Writers on the Mayas in the days of the Conquest make mention of the tortoise-shell drum, a trumpet of the twisted gourd, and a sort of guitar with two arms opposite each other.<sup>1</sup> No examples of any of these musical instruments were observed either among the Mayas or the Lacandones.

**Games.** — The natives of Yucatan still practice some of their old games. There is often difficulty in separating these from the games of later origin introduced by the Mexicans.

Yucatan is no exception to the rule of the almost universal presence of the string game, or "string figure." The figure where three loops meet in the center and called by the Navajos

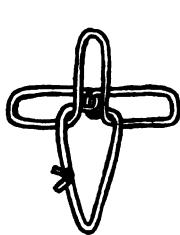


FIG. 21.

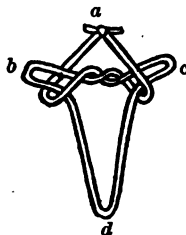


FIG. 22.

String games of the Mayas.

the *hogan* or hut is called among the Mayas the "chicken's foot" (*umotškaš*). I am not sure, however, that the knot in the center is the same (Fig. 21). There is a figure which, after being made, is operated by two persons, called "sawing wood" (*tinbuh-tše*, I am sawing wood). There

are four loops (Fig. 22): *a* is held in the mouth; the ends of the saw, *b* and *c*, are held in either hand; and *d*, the end of the wood to be split, is held by the second person. As the ends, *b* and *c*, are pulled out from the center in a sawing motion, the end *d* is correspondingly shortened.

The wooden top (*polbirtš*) of the ordinary shape is found among the Mayas. The peg is a part of the top itself. A game is played by drawing a circle on the ground in the center of which money or grains of cocoa are placed. The aim is to knock outside the ring with the top the objects in the center. This is undoubtedly European in origin.

A game corresponding to the American game of "jack stones" is played with kernels of corn. The name in Maya is *pulanqam* and in Spanish *tirar y coger*.

<sup>1</sup> Sapper (1891, p. 893) mentions a two-armed stringed instrument which he saw among the Lacandones. This form probably arises from European influence.

A bull roarer is made of the dry pod or berry of a tree (*piston*). The pod, which is nearly round and hollow, has three holes cut in it. When whirled in the air on the end of a string, a pleasing musical sound is made. This instrument is said to have taught the early Mayas how to whistle.

Four grains of corn with one side colored black are used in a gambling game (*bašal išim*). The winning throws are two black or all black sides uppermost.

A game called *wākpel pul* (to throw six) is played with five sticks (Fig. 23), each about three inches high, set in a circle with a sixth in the center. The pieces are made of a certain kind of wood which has branches starting out opposite to each other (*a* and *b*). Each stick has grooves cut in the upper end (*c*), and running in number from one to six. The game is to knock down one or more of the sticks by standing at a distance and throwing coins, cocoa berries, or seeds.

The Mayas of Yucatan fly kites, and are quite successful in making fire crackers and rockets. The two latter accomplishments were of course introduced by foreigners.

**Dancing.** — Dancing once played a very important part in the ceremonial life of the Mayas. Special dances were given at certain times of the year. There were often dances for the men and others for the women at the different festivals of the Maya year. The few dances which are now reported as taking place among the Mayas are generally of mixed origin (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1). The *štol* and *palito* dances are both strongly Mexican in character, although the native elements still remain to some degree.<sup>1</sup>

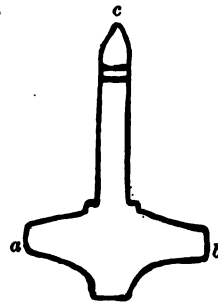


FIG. 23.  
Stick game of the  
Mayas.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. H. Thompson has made a special study of the *Štol* Dance with biographic and phonographic records, and at some future date I trust that we may have a paper from him on this subject. I was not fortunate in witnessing one of these dances. Mr. Starr saw the *Stol* Dance in 1891 and he gives (1902, *a*, pp. 18-19) the following description: "The *xtoles*, formerly danced every carnival season in Merida, is falling into disuse. . . . They [the dancers] are

The Lacandones of the present time have no definite and set dances. They perform a slow movement with the feet in time to the shake of the rattle in several of the rites. It seems to have no close connection, however, with the progress of the ceremony.

Indians, or are intended to represent them. Their dress is peculiar, characteristic, and, in part at least, survival. In the company we saw there were fourteen dancers and a standard bearer; of the dancers seven represented females and wore the usual female garments and necklaces of coral beads, gold chains, pendants, etc.; their breasts were indicated as exaggeratedly developed. The other dancers wore the usual men's white shirts and drawers, but the latter had a red stripe down the side of the leg; jingling hawkbells were hung to various parts of the dress; red *fajas* (belts) were worn about the waist. Most of the dancers wore sandals. All wore crowns, consisting of a circlet of tin, from which rose two curving strips of tin, which crossed above the middle of the head; from this circlet at spaced intervals rose four feathers—either real feathers or imitations in tin. Two of these crowns, with real feathers and of unusual magnificence, denote the king and queen. Under these crowns, covering the top of the head and hanging down behind over the shoulders and back, were gay red and blue kerchiefs. All were masked, mostly with old bits of brown cloth, with eye perforations and with nose and chin pinched up and developed by tying. The men wore a baldric, or bandolier, which was probably of ancient type. It was wide, square at the ends, made of cotton, with inwoven designs—geometrical, animal, bird, etc.—in colors; at the ends hung bivalve shells. The rattles used had an oval body set into a conical bunch of splints, uniting downward into a handle; these rattles were painted gayly. Fans were carried by most of the dancers; they had a wooden frame and handle, decorated with the national colors; the body was made of the handsome feathers of the ocellated turkey; the handle is made of the turkey's leg. There were two musicians, one with a pito, or whistle, with a small mouthpiece gummed at the end of a long tin tube pierced with note holes; the other carried a painted tin drum of the *huehuetl* type; this he played with his hands. . . . The standard consisted of a long pole, surmounted by a tin disk, representing the sun's face with a protruding tongue; on the cotton banner were painted the sun, two men dancing, a serpent, and the words *Suburbio de Santiago, 1900*. The leader of the dance, the queen, carried a cord of San Francisco, with which to strike unskilled performers and intruders. Besides their own musicians, they had an accompanying band, which played music like their own; it played before and after the dancing and when the company passed from house to house. During the dance itself the *pitero* and drummer perform. The music was peculiar and may be both old and Indian. The words sung were Mayan. . . . At the beginning of the dance, the king, queen, and two musicians were in the center, the dancers circling around them in a double circle; they then formed into two files, facing, alternately, men and women; salutes were given and pairs danced; a man danced, first with one, then with the other, of his immediate neighbors. There was a good deal of indecent suggestion in the dance. The fans and rattles were used in graceful movements, among which crossings were frequent."

## RELIGION OF THE LACANDONES

I SHALL assume from the very beginning that the religious life of the Lacandones of the present day is a survival, not only of the former religion of this one branch of the people, but of the ancient Mayas of Yucatan as well, if not of the whole Maya stock. Grounds for this assumption are furnished by the frequent similarities which will be pointed out between the religion now existing among the Lacandones and that of the Mayas of the peninsula at the time of the Conquest as described by Padre Diego de Landa in his "Relaciones de Las Cosas de Yucatan," and by other Spanish priests and explorers.

It has seemed best to take up first in detail the religion of the Lacandones of the Usumacinta region, and finally that of the Mayas of Yucatan. With a knowledge of the religious rites of the Lacandones, parallels may be more easily seen in the remains of rites now being carried on by the nominally Catholic subjects in Yucatan.

Padre Landa states that the Mayas had great fear of death and disease.<sup>1</sup> This is seen to-day in all the ceremonies of the Lacandones in honor of their gods. The principal aim of these rites seems to be that of a supplication for life and health. The prayers used are, without exception, propitiations and supplications made to the gods to ward off dangers and diseases in exchange for the sacrifices offered to them.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXIII, p. 194: "Que esta gente tenia mucho temor y excesivo a la muerte, y esto muestravan en que todos los servicios que a sus dioses hazian no eran por otro fin ni para otra cosa sino para que les diessen salud y mantenimientos."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same idea expressed in an account of the natives written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, "Relación de Cicontúm," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 201: "Adoraban a ydolos de piedra y barro y de palos que hazian de sus manos, y era para pedir la salud y hacienda buenos temporales."

spiritual side of the religion is, of course, always uppermost, as with all uncivilized and semi-civilized people. Brinton says, "The earliest hymns and prayers do not, as a rule, contain definite requests, but a general appeal to the god to be present, to partake of the feast which is spread, . . . and to continue his good offices toward those who call upon him."<sup>1</sup>

Both the Mayas and the Lacandones believe in a future life and in a place filled with everything good, where, with the exception of suicides, every one sooner or later goes. There is a conductor who accompanies the piñan or soul to its final resting place. Food is given for this journey, but at its completion human aid is no longer necessary for the happiness of the departed spirit.<sup>2</sup>

The Lacandones are not at the lowest stage of religious experience. Their entreaty for life and health is not purely personal and selfish, as the wife and children are always mentioned in the prayers. The personal ego enlarges into that of the family, and the beginning of altruism is formed. As the wife has no part in the ceremonial life of the tribe, her welfare has necessarily to be looked after by the husband.

The ethical side of religion, as distinguished from the spiritual, is almost wholly lacking among the Lacandones. The social consciousness of this people acts with little strength outside the family, or possibly beyond the small totemic division. The general fear of death, with a desire for the perpetuation of the species, and the specific and local dangers of fever and the bite of serpents are the causes of religious observance among the Lacandones.

**Gods.** — There is a hierarchy of gods, each of whom seems to have a different function to perform and possesses different attributes. Landa mentions the names of thirty-six gods and goddesses in describing the ceremonies celebrated in the months of the Maya year. In a few cases the names of the gods as given by the early authorities correspond to the names of those now being worshiped among the natives. The mere

<sup>1</sup> Brinton, D. G., 1897, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mortuary Customs, p. 47.

name seems to survive often when the functions and attributes either have changed or have vanished completely.

With one or two exceptions, the gods are more or less friendly and well disposed toward the natives. They are of both sexes, and are supposed often to inhabit the interior of cliffs. The ruined temples found throughout the country<sup>1</sup> are believed to be the shrines and homes of some of the gods. Each god has a distinct dwelling place, which is usually on the borders of a lake or river.

Frequent pilgrimages are even now made by the Indians to the ruins.<sup>2</sup> Rites are performed there, as is shown by the finding of incense-vessels and the remains of burned *copal* in the rooms of the ruined structures.

Almost constant references occur in the books of early travelers and missionaries, as well as in those of later explorers, concerning the finding of incense-vessels and *copal* in the ruined structures.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As has been stated, at Piedras Negras and Menche or Yaxchilan on the Usumacinta River, there are large ruined cities, as well as many smaller ones on several tributaries of the river. For a map of the ruins, see Maler, 1901-1903, Pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> Sapper, 1897, p. 265: "Bis vor Kurzem kamen eine Anzahl Lacandonen (wahrscheinlich von Lacanjá aus) nach den Ruinen von Menché Tunamit um ihre Feste zu feiern und ihren Göttern zu opfern, wobei sie ihre Opferschalen im Tempel zurückliessen. Genaueres über den Verlauf ihrer Feste ist aber nicht bekannt."

<sup>3</sup> For early accounts, see Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. IV, Chap. VII, p. 193: "Hallé en una de las dos Capillas cacas ofrecido, y señal de copal (que es su incienso) de poco tiempo allí quemado, y que lo era de alguna supersticion, ò idolatria recién cometida."

Villagutierre, 1701, Bk. IV, Chap. XIV, p. 264: "... era el Adoratorio de los perversos Idolos de aquellos Lacandones, donde se hallaron muchos de ellos, de formas raras, como assimismo cantidad de gallinas muertas, Brasseros, con señales de aver quemado copal y aún se hallaron las cenizas calientes, y otras diversas, rediculas, y abominables cosas, pertenecientes à la execucion de sus perversos Ritos, y Sacrificios."

Landa, 1864, Chap. XXVII, p. 158: "Que tenian gran muchedumbre de idolos y templos sumptuosos en su manera, y aun sin los comunes templos tenian los señores sacerdotes y gente principal oratorios y idolos en casa para sus oraciones y ofrendas particulares. Y que tenian a Cuzmil y poço de Chicheniza en tanta veneracion como nosotros a las romerias de Hierusalem y Roma y

In an important ruined center, to which the name the Ruins of Tzendales has been given, on the Rio Colorado, an affluent of the Tzendales and this in turn of the Lacantun, which unites with the Chixoy or Salinas to form the Usumacinta,<sup>1</sup> there was found by the writer in one of the rooms of the best preserved of the structures five incense-burners of the type ordinarily made by the Lacandones. These were arranged on the floor in a line in front of a *stela*, sculptured only on one side and at right angles to it. This stone was not in its original

assi les ivan a visitar y ofrecer dones, principalmente a la de Cozmil, como nosotros a lugares santos, y ya que no ivan, siempre embiaban sus offrendas. Y los que ivan tenian de costumbre de entrar tambien en templos derelictos, quando passavan por ellos a orar y quemar copal."

For later accounts, see Charnay, 1882, p. 88: "... se trouvent une multitude de vases d'une terre grossière et d'une forme nouvelle; ce sont des bols de dix à quinze centimètres de diamètre sur cinq à six de hauteur, dont les bords sont ornés de masques humains représentant des figures camardes et d'autres à grandes nez busqués, véritables caricatures où l'art fait complètement défaut. Cependant il faut bien remarquer cette différence de types qui pourrait désigner deux races. Ces vases servaient de brûler parfums, et la plupart sont encore à moitié pleins de copal. . . . Nous retrouverons de ces mêmes vases dans tous les édifices qui paraissent avoir été destinés au culte."

Maler, 1901-1903, pp. 64, 88, 90, 123, 136, and 162.

Maudslay, 1889-1902, Text, Vol. II, p. 46, and 1883, p. 200. In the latter place, in speaking of the ruins of Yaxchilan, Mr. Maudslay says: "In nearly all the houses, I found earthen pots, partly filled with some half-burned resinous substance. . . . They were in great numbers round the idol in the house I lived in. Some looked newer than others, and many were in such positions that it was clear that they had been placed there since the partial destruction of the houses. I have little doubt that they have been made and brought by the Lacandon Indians, who still live in an untamed state in small communities on the banks of these rivers, and if my conjecture be correct, it may be that the fact of these Indians still holding in reverence the temples built by their ancestors, and making offerings of incense, has lent strength to the story which for many years has been current in Central America, that there exists an inhabited Indian city hidden away in the forests, and still flourishing as in the days of the Conquest." (Cf. Stephens, 1841, Vol. II, p. 195.)

Sapper, 1891, pp. 891, 894: "Sie pflegten die opferschalen an Ort und Stelle zurückzulassen und als ich (am 21. Juli 1891) dieser Ruinen (Yaxchilan) besuchte, fand ich auch wirklich noch zahlreiche von diesen opferschalen vor, wenigleich zum grössten teil zerbrochen."

<sup>1</sup> These ruins are of much importance, and I hope at some future date to give a more extended notice of them. They are on the land owned by the Compañia Romano.

position, but had probably been brought in from its place in front of the building and set up in the center of the back wall of the room in question. The bas-relief represented a priestly character. The entire room showed signs of the burning of incense, as the walls and ceiling were completely blackened.

The incense-burners found showed signs of age. They were covered for the most part with a deep calcareous deposit often noted on the walls of the ruined buildings. Signs of paint still remained, and this was in most cases on the surface of the incrustation of lime, showing that, in all probability, the incense-burners were allowed to remain in the ruins and were redecorated from time to time when they were employed in carrying out a religious rite.

The temples and sculptures in each of the ruined cities are supposed to have been made by the early ancestors of the race. This belief is common among the Mayas as well as among the Lacandones. It is most natural therefore that the natives should visit these buildings and believe them to be inhabited by the gods of the race.

In order that we may not rely too strongly on this fact of pilgrimages to the ruined centers, and the seeming adoration of certain sculptured figures as pointing to a direct connection between the old and new cultures, and, furthermore, as showing the continuity of the whole, I will suggest another possible explanation. It is not at all unlikely nor unnatural for an intruding people gradually to connect unusual natural features, which to them seem unnatural and new, with their idea of the supernatural. This does not necessarily limit itself to natural phenomena, and we may easily imagine that on the discovery of immense structures of stone, these buildings would appear, as far as they were concerned, as if built by some supernatural agency. These ruined cities, even if in a comparatively ruinous condition, might well have been gradually included in the religious conceptions of the people, so that the whole system of their mythology would come in time to be centered around the ruined stone structures.



Now that the country is being overrun with mahogany hunters, the Lacandones have refrained from visiting the ruins lying in the common routes of travel and leaving their incense-burners, as those deposited in the past have either been appropriated or destroyed by the Mexican visitors.

These incense-burners are used by the Lacandones in their religious ceremonies. Each family or group of connected families living together possesses several of the incense-burners or *braseros*. There was no instance noted where there were *braseros* for all the gods. The selection and number of the idols and incense-burners depend on well-defined rules, which will be given later (p. 99). In one encampment there were forty of the sacred *ollas*, but no instance was observed where there were the large number recorded by Cogolludo.<sup>1</sup>

The incense-burner, or *brasero* (Pl. XV, Fig. 2), is a combination of a bowl for burning incense with a grotesque face mask on one side of the *olla*.<sup>2</sup> They are made of native clay by the Indians who use them. In the bowl, on the edge of which is the head, *copal* is burned, and on the protruding lip of the face offerings of food and drink are made in behalf of one of the gods.

The early historians speak of idols of wood and stone as well as those of clay. They also mention the incense-vessels as if they were separate from the idols.<sup>3</sup> It seems at first as if the *ollas* which we have described have a double function, that of an idol as represented by the grotesque head and of an incense-

<sup>1</sup> Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. IX, Chap. XII, p. 502: "Gran multitud de Idolos, tanto, que dize el Padre Fuensalida, que parece no se puede contar, porque para cada cosa, que sentian tener necesidad."

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that the face of these incense-burners is represented as if in the open mouth of some animal. For a good example of this idea, see Peñafiel, 1890, Pl. 48, Fig. 107. For a discussion of this point, see Seler, 1895 and 1904, p. 85. Nadailac (1884, p. 296) pictures a vessel which shows some similarity to the common form of incense-burner of the Lacandones. He describes it as representing the head of a priest covered with human skin.

<sup>3</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XL, p. 242: "La hazian cada año y demas desto renovavan los idolos de barro y sus braseros, ca costumbre era tener cada idolo un brasero en que le quemassen su encienso."

burner as shown in the bowl. This, it will be found, is in part true.

That there were in use among the early Mayas of Yucatan *ollas* of clay identical with the *braseros*, or incense-burners, with the grotesque head now used by the Lacandones, is probable from a description of some idols of clay used at Valladolid in the early days of the Spanish occupation<sup>1</sup> as well as a few examples found in connection with archæological work.

Plate XVI, Fig. 1, shows a small incense bowl with the grotesque head upon the rim of the *olla*. This is from the ruins of Labna, and shows the same idea as is seen in the incense-burner of the Lacandones of the present time, that of a bowl for burning incense and a head representing a god of some kind.

Plate XVI, Fig. 2, shows an incense-burner from the Island of Cozumel.<sup>2</sup> This is a very interesting specimen, in that, instead of the large lip on which to place the offering, as in the *braseros* of the Lacandones, there is a shelf-like projection below the mouth on which an offering of some sort is represented in clay.

<sup>1</sup> "Relación de la villa de Valladolid, escrita por el cabildo de aquella ciudad por mandado de su Majestad y del muy ilustre Señor Don Guillen de Las Casas, Gobernador y Capitán General, Abril de 1578," 1881, Vol. II, p. 185; also 1900, Vol. XIII, pp. 27, 28: "Adoraban unos ídolos hechos de barro á manera de jarrillos y de macetas de albahaca, hechos en ellos de la parte de afuera rostros desemejados, quemaban dentro de estos una resina llamada copal, de gran oler. Esto les ofrecían á estos ídolos, y ellos cortaban en muchas partes de sus miembros y ofrecían aquella sangre. . . . Para estos sacrificios y sus areytos usaban beber y emborracharse con un vino que ellos hacían de una corteza de un arbol que llaman baleze y miel y agua."

Also p. 178 (1881) and p. 19 (1900): "Tenían sus ídolos en la casa de arriba hechos de barro, de la forma de macetas de albahaca, muy bocadeadas, con sus pies y en ellos hechos rostros mal ajustados y disformes de malas cataduras, echaban dentro de este idolo una resina que llaman copal á manera de incienso, y esta reverencia ofrendaban y quemaban que daba de sí muy gran oler, y con esto hacen contino sus ritos, ceremonias y adoraciones."

Also, "Relación de los pueblos de Popola, y Sinsimato y Samiol," 1900, Vol. XIII, pp. 44, 45: "Usaban de adorar unos jarrillos hechos en ellos rostros desemejados, teniendolos por sus ydolos quemavan dentro y ofresian una rresina llamada copal ques como trementina elada, de gran oler, y se cortavan en muchas partes para ofrecer la sangre a aquel ydolo."

<sup>2</sup> This specimen was collected by Mr. E. H. Thompson.

The band encircling the upper part of the bowl may well represent one of the bands of bark similar to those placed around the rims of the incense-burners of the Lacandones as offerings to the gods before they are tied around the heads of the participants in the rites (p. 129). This specimen has three holes in the bottom.

Plate XVI, Fig. 3, shows an incense-burner of the bowl variety<sup>1</sup> which seems to be a transition form. In place of the head we find a conventionalized representation. The five knobs of clay above that which seems to stand for the head is a conventionalized method of representing the hair. This same idea is seen in a modern incense-burner collected by the writer in Chiapas (Pl. XVI, Fig. 5). It is an entirely different type from those usually seen. The face constitutes a part of the jar itself, and the hair is represented by the five knob-like bits of clay on the edge of the bowl. In the incense-vessel from the Hondo River these knobs are on the front rather than on the rim of the bowl. There are five in each case, and there can be little doubt that they represent the hair shown in the usual form of *brasero* of the Lacandones by vertical pieces of clay painted alternately red and black (Pl. XV, Fig. 2).

Plate XVI, Fig. 4, shows another *brasero* from the Hondo River. In this the conventionalized head is seen as in the former incense-burner from the same locality. The representation of the hair by the five knob-like projections has been enlarged into an ornamentation for the entire rim of the bowl.

We thus find these different types of incense-burners belonging to the older culture period of Yucatan and the country to the south, together with modern examples which agree with them more or less perfectly.

The greater part of the incense-vessels found in the ruins of Yucatan and throughout the other regions of Maya culture contain no trace of the head. It is difficult to decide which is the older form, the simple plate or bowl for burning incense or

<sup>1</sup> This bowl is from the vicinity of the Hondo River on the boundary of Yucatan and British Honduras. The specimen is now in the Peabody Museum.

the bowl combined with some form of head. If we consider the type of bowl with the knob-like projection as a transition form, we are led to the conclusion that the most primitive form of incense-burner was the bowl on which was represented the whole body at first,<sup>1</sup> and then the head of a person or animal. This form of *brasero* is found in many parts of Mexico.

Among the isolated Mayas of Chiapas and the south, the original form of the incense-burner with the head may have survived,<sup>2</sup> whereas, in Yucatan, the *olla* with the head had, for the most part, at the time of the Conquest, given way first to the conventionalized head and then to its disappearance altogether. This is simply given as a hypothesis and is worthy of extended investigation.

It has been found that the idol proper, the stone image as representing the god, still exists among the Lacandones. Figure 24 shows one of these idols. It is of jade. These idols are placed inside the incense-bowls and over them the incense is burned.<sup>3</sup> Collections of jade ornaments contain many figures which, without doubt,

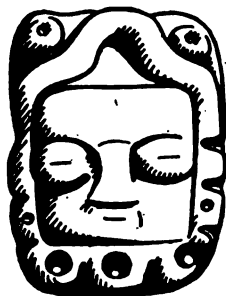


FIG. 24.

Jade head used as idol by the Lacandones.

were formerly used as idols in the same manner as those found to-day among the Lacandones. Mr. Maler reports a collection of jade ornaments taken from a mound near Merida by one Rafael Quintero and finally given to a General Gonzalez of Mexico. There were five idols of jade which showed signs of fire and from the same excavation some jade medallions or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pl. XVII, Fig. 1, and also a vessel from the Isla de Mujeres pictured in Salisbury, 1878, Pl. I, Fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Plate XVII, Fig. 5, shows the most elaborate type of incense-burners found among the Lacandones. The two specimens of this type seen did not contain the head, but each clearly showed where it had once been. From appearances the head was evidently much smaller in proportion to the bowl than those of the usual form. We may find in this a sign of the coming disappearance of the head.

<sup>3</sup> Figure 25, p. 88, from the Codex Tro-Cortesianus, may intend to show an idol inside an *olla*.

breastplates showing no traces of ever having been in contact with fire.

These idols of the Lacandones are sometimes of stone other than jade. They all are guarded with the greatest secrecy. They have been handed down from generation to generation, and are believed, originally, to have come each from the home of the respective god whom it represents.

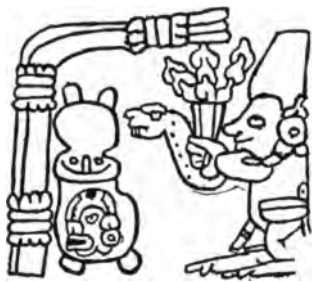


FIG. 25.

Tro-Cort. 100, d.

An ancestor of the family is supposed to have made a pilgrimage to the home of each god, and there obtained the carved stone, an image of the god. There is therefore the strongest feeling for the gods of the family, although new idols are made from time to time. Now, as it was

explained, it is almost impossible to obtain a carved stone as representing a god whose presence is desired in the encampment, but the pilgrimage must be made, and a stone, usually nothing more than a pebble, is brought back from the home of the god and placed in the incense-burner.<sup>1</sup>

The Lacandones of the present time, judging from their utter lack of artistic skill and execution as seen in the decoration of their gourds and other religious utensils, as well as in the modeling of their *braseros*, are practically incapable of fashioning any images in stone.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, when an entirely new idol is desired, a stone is employed with little or no artificial shaping. In one instance, in place of the usual incense-burners, pieces of unworked stone about eight inches square were used

<sup>1</sup> When one of these journeys is made, an incense-burner of a smaller size and containing no idol is taken and left as an offering to the god in question. Mr. Maler (1901-1903, p. 123) tells of finding three new incense-burners in one of the rooms in the ruins of Yaxchilan. Compare also references to finding incense-burners in the ruins (p. 81, note 3).

<sup>2</sup> The serpentine figure pictured by Maler (1901-1903, p. 92) from Budsilha may be an attempt at carving by one of the early Lacandones. Other crude figures and faces in stone often seen in collections may show attempts at manufacturing these idols even down to the present time.

on which to burn the incense. These had been brought from the ruins of Yaxchilan. They seemed to be more in the nature of incense-burners than of idols.

A renewal of the incense-burners takes place at frequent intervals, and the idols of stone are then taken from the old and placed in the new *ollas*. We do not encounter these idols in the ruins at the present time as we do the incense-burners. The latter which are found are either "dead," and thus have had the stone removed, or they are in the nature of servants who are supposed to carry out the demands of the gods, and these never contain the stone (p. 87).

In spite of the fact that the idol proper is deposited inside the *braseiro*, this latter in itself has a twofold function, that of idol and bowl for burning incense. It is to the head on the *olla* that the offerings are made in behalf of the god represented by the idol behind and inside the bowl. The grotesque head of clay is an idol in itself, in that it is a representation of a god of a much inferior capacity, whose duty it is to carry the offerings to the main deity to whom he is dependent. In the rite where the incense-burners are renewed, there are also made a large number of smaller *ollas* of the same shape as the larger ones, but not containing any stone as representing a god. This is the class of *ollas* that are usually found in the ruins. They are in the nature of offerings to the gods, to aid them in carrying out their demands (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2).

For convenience, I shall call the large *ollas* containing the idols of stone *braseros*, the term used by Landa, and the smaller incense-burners *braseritos*. Each of the latter belongs to a certain one of the gods represented by the idols in the larger *ollas*.

The Lacandones do not, as far as my observation has gone, possess idols of wood or clay objects which might be taken for idols other than the heads on the *braseros*.

Plate XV, Fig. 2, shows one of the *braseritos*, the head of which is much larger in proportion to the whole than are the heads on the bowls of the larger size. The *olla* represented is five inches across and three inches high. More often they are larger,

measuring seven inches in diameter and five inches in height.<sup>1</sup> The red and black stripes on the top of the head and below the mouth represent the hair and beard respectively. The lines of the same two colors on the front of the bowl are counterparts of the decoration supposed to exist on the dress of the god. The raised red spot on the forehead between the eyes and the short line above and below the eyes have their counterpart in the painting of the face of the participants in certain of the ceremonies (p. 141). No explanation could be obtained for these markings nor for the red-and-black star on either side of the mouth, other than that the latter were the cheek bones of the god. The ears are shown as protruding spots at either side of the face, and are painted black, in the centre of which is a small hole. The large and prominent nose is painted black on the end, and has two large elongated slits as nostrils. In many of the *braseros* the teeth are shown and are painted alternately red and black.

The decoration of both the *brasero* and *braserito* is in general the same. The differences are very slight. In the painting of the smaller class some have red and black lines crossing the vertical ones in front of the bowl. These with the cross lines are regarded as female in sex.

Among the Lacandones who live to the south and east of Yaxchilan, there is a slightly different type of incense-burner (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2). The eyes differ from those of the Petha type (Fig. 26). The nostrils are round dots rather than slits and the mouth is very small. The forehead elevation is lacking.<sup>2</sup>

There is another type (Pl. XVII, Figs. 2 and 3) from east and south Yaxchilan differing in the arrangement of the upper

<sup>1</sup> The largest that was seen measured 6 inches in height to the top of the bowl. The height to the top of the head was  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The diameter of the bowl was  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

<sup>2</sup> Charnay (1887, p. 443) notes finding incense-burners of the two forms in the ruins of Yaxchilan, and he states that the difference of type may point to two different races. As I have before noted, this difference may coincide with a difference noted in painting the face and in the use of certain gods.

part of the head from that just described. In place of the conventional arrangement of the hair, there is a rope effect.

There is still another type of *brasero* among the Lacandones. This is composed of a larger bowl (Pl. XVII, Fig. 5), with a design similar to that seen on one of the gourds (Pl. XXI, Fig. 1). On the one pictured the head is gone, but one similar in decoration seen in a settlement of Lacandones on the Lacantun River had a head very much smaller in proportion to the size of the bowl than those of the regular Petha type.

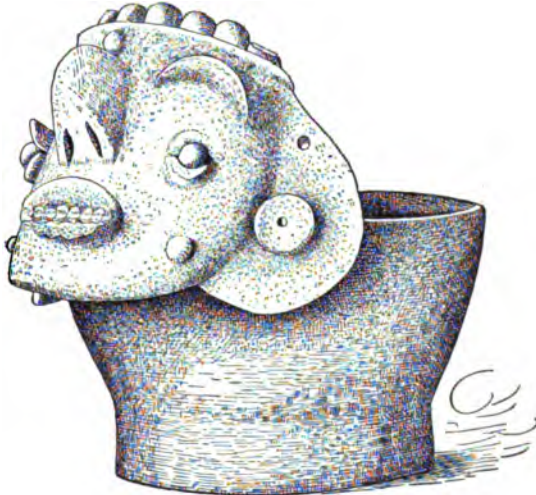


FIG. 26.

Incense-burner of the Lacandones.

The Lacandones assert that in former times the incense-burners were made in other forms, some possessing arms and legs. These are seldom made or used now.

In one of the encampments, small animals made of clay were noted (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). One of these had on its back a minute bowl for holding *copal*. This was never used in any of the rites and seemed to serve as a plaything for the children. It may well have been a degraded survival of the time when animals made of clay were offered to the gods as sacrifices.

Plate XIX, Fig. 2, shows one of the *braseritos* identical in shape with the larger varieties, but used by the children in learning the sequences of the religious rites and the chants employed before the idols and incense-burners.

As belonging to the gods themselves, the *braseros* are kept with great care and observance. In every collection of huts



there is always one which is larger than the others. This is used exclusively for the observances of the rites in behalf of the gods.<sup>1</sup> The domestic and religious life of the Lacandones are always carried on in separate places. The sacred hut has its own fire and its own utensils, which are exclusively used for the celebration of the religious observances. To bring any food into the domestic hut renders it unfit to be offered to the gods. Great secrecy and privacy in regard to the rites inside the sacred hut, together with its contents, are carefully observed. In many settlements this hut is surrounded by a screen of palm leaves to protect it from the prying eyes of the occasional Mexican visitor. Sometimes when there are important rites in progress all the trails leading to the settlement are stopped up with underbrush. Any attempt at approach to the sacred inclosure is absolutely denied the outsider.<sup>2</sup>

It seems to be an especially bad omen if the sight of any of the *braseros* is obtained by a foreigner. With difficulty one may induce the Indians to talk about their gods when admission to the sacred hut or any approach to it would be denied even at a time when there is no rite in progress.

Outwardly, the *hermita*, or house of the idols, is the same as the domestic habitation (Pl. VIII, Figs. 1, 2, and 3). It is thatched with palm leaves which come down very low, thus affording an effective screen to the interior of the hut, as there are no sides. The two ends are entirely open, and it is around these that the tall fence of palm leaves is built if they point

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Villagutierre, 1701, Bk. IV, Chap. XIV, p. 264: "Y la otra (casa) aùn mas grande, que todas las otras, era el Adoratorio de los perversos Idolos de aquellos Lacandones, donde se hallaron muchos de ellos, de formas raras."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sapper, 1897, p. 263: "In der Cariben-Ansiedelung am Pet Ha dagegen wurde mir der Zugang zur Ermita verwehrt; meine Führer aber besuchten dieselbe unbemerkt und machten mir eine Beschreibung davon, welche im Allgemeinen mit meinen früheren Erfahrungen von Izan zusammenstimmt."

Also *ibid.*, p. 265: "Aber scheue Geschöpfe, die jeden Versuch, über ihrer Religion zu sprechen (so weit ihr sehr gebrochenes Spanisch so etwas überhaupt gestatten würde), mit grosser Entschiedenheit zurückwiesen."

Also Sapper, 1891, pp. 892-895.

toward a path or trail by which the Mexicans are likely to approach the encampment. The house is oblong, with the long sides to the east and west.

The list of gods found existing among the Lacandones of the present time numbers fifteen. This list is by no means exhaustive. No collection of idols in any one community represents all the gods, but only those who have shown themselves as well disposed toward the people among whom they are to exist.

The major deity among the natives of Chiapas is called **Nohotšakyum** (the great father). The same god, called **Nohotšak**, is found to-day among the Mayas of Yucatan. He is one of a class of spirits dependent only on *El Gran Dios*, introduced by the Spaniards. **Nohotšakyum** is at the head of Lacandone pantheon. It is to him that the greatest reverence is paid. Two flowers, **šaknikte** (*Plumeria rubra*) and **säknikte** (*Plumeria alba*), are considered the father and mother respectively of **Nohotšakyum**. These two flowers are used in some of the rites, one of each kind being placed on the mouth of the *brasero* containing the idol of **Nohotšakyum**. In the prayers given before the idols, the other and lesser deities are invoked to come and carry the sacrifices offered and present them to "the great lord." His power is wholly beneficent. He does not use it at all times, however, but withdraws it and denies it as he sees fit. The method of ascertaining whether or not a god is willing to have himself represented by an idol and *brasero* in any encampment will be described later (p. 99). **Nohotšakyum** of the Lacandones lives at the ruins of Yaxchilan. The Lacandones of Lake Petha stated that **Nohotšakyum** lived near Anaite. Now Anaite is a short distance south of the Usumacinta River, about midway between Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan or Menche. The location of the homes of the gods given by the Petha Lacandones was only in general terms. The direction "near Anaite" may well be either the ruins at Piedras Negras to the north or those of Yaxchilan to the south. It is stated that there are ruins at the home of **Nohotšakyum**. Later, however, in a settlement much nearer the vicinity of the

ruins themselves, it was definitely stated that **Nohotšakyum** and many of the other gods inhabited the ruins of Yaxchilan. This city is in an easterly direction from the encampment near Lake Petha, where most of the observations were made. Moreover, the spirits of the east, **Yalanqinqu**, are regarded as the servants of this main god. The sun itself occupies an inferior place in the pantheon. It is regarded as a servant ready to carry out the commands of his master, **Nohotšakyum**. Many of the constellations and the spirit of the thunder are regarded as other servants of "the great lord." It is supposed that at the end of the world **Nohotšakyum** will wear around his waist as a belt the body of **Häpikern**, a very bad spirit in the form of a snake, who draws people to him by his breath and slays them.

**Nohotšakyum** has a daughter called **Ertub** (the little one) or **Upal** (his child). She lives at Yaxchilan in the same locality as her father. He also has several sons. None of them are represented in any of the collections of idols in any of the encampments visited by the writer, and their names have not been made out.

**Nohotšakyum** is one of four brothers. **Yantho** is the oldest of the four and seems to rank as second in importance to **Nohotšakyum**. His home is on the Usumacinta River near Tenosique, in some high cliffs.<sup>1</sup> He has the spirit of the north, **Šamanqinqu**, associated with him in his work, and his home is situated in the north in respect to the country occupied by the Lacandones. Among the Lacandones on the Lacantun River, the god **Yantho** is said to belong to another part, and in a few other cases there seems to be a distinction made in regard to the gods between the natives around Lake Petha and eastward of Ocosingo and those on the Salinas and Lacantun. This is a question on which it will be necessary to have much more material before we can decide with any definiteness. It may, as I have stated before, point to a time when the Lacandones were not as homogeneous as they now appear to be.

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the cliffs are those at Boca del Cerro. See Maler, 1901-1903, Pl. I.

The second brother, according to age, is called **Usukun**, which in Maya means his older brother. He is thus named in respect to **Nohotšakyum**. This god lives in a cave. He has the earthquake, **Kisin**, as his servant, and is not of good intention. His idol is usually found, however, in every collection of the sacred *ollas*, but it is always placed apart from the rest, as if its presence would be harmful when in the vicinity of the *braseros* of the other gods. The idol of **Usukun** is not neglected, however, but it is placated with offerings of food and drink as are those of the other gods.

The younger brother of **Nohotšakyum** is called **Uytoin**. This word has the meaning "his younger brother." He lives at Yaxchilan in company with the gods who make that place their residence. His power is always for the good.

It is probable that the four brothers are identified with the four cardinal points, with **Nohotšakyum** representing the east (**yalanqin**) as the leader. **Yantho** is clearly associated with the north (**šamanqin**). A god called **Mensabak** seems to be identified with the west (**tšiqin**) rather than either of the two other brothers. The god associated with the south (**noholqin**) has not been made out. It is quite probable that the four brothers are the same as the four **Nukutšyumtšakob** found existing among the Mayas of Yucatan (p. 155).

Next in importance to the four brothers is the goddess **Äkna** (the mother). She is considered the mother of certain of the lesser gods as **Nohotšakyum** is the father of many of the gods. The exact relation existing between him and **Äkna** has not been satisfactorily made out. **Äkna** is the goddess of childbirth. Prayers and offerings are made especially to her on the birth of a child. When serving in this capacity she is called **Ištšel**. This is the same deity mentioned by the early authorities as goddess of medicine and of childbirth.

The latter has a husband called **Aqantšob**<sup>1</sup> or **Tšitšaktšob**.

<sup>1</sup> The literal meaning of this name is the squint-eyed one (**tšob**) crying aloud (**aqan**).

Landa<sup>1</sup> mentions that in the year whose dominical letter was **Cauac**, in order to avert certain calamities, idols were made to the *demonios*, one of whom was called "**Chichak-ohob**."<sup>2</sup> Among the Lacandones **Aqantšob** or **Tšitšaktšob** is one of the favoring deities. Both he and his consort, **Äkna**, live at Yaxchilan.

A god named **Ioana** lives also at Yaxchilan. The similarity of the name of this god with that of **Itzamna**, also written **Zamna**, one of the culture heroes of the Mayas, is very striking. In the Lacandone pantheon, neither the position of **Ioana** nor that of another god called **Ioananohqu** points to any close connection between them and the **Itzamna** of old, as they both occupy places far inferior to that of **Nohotšakyum** and his three brothers. In one settlement **Ioana** was said to be the caretaker of the underworld, but he seems in no way to be connected with the idea of death.

We thus find in many of the names given to the gods of the Lacandones survivals of names stated by the early historians as the names of the gods of the Mayas at the time of the Conquest. In only a few cases, however, do the attributes of a god remain unchanged.

The name of the other culture hero of the early natives of Yucatan, **Ququlcan** (written **Kulkulcan**), is still retained among the Lacandones as the name of a mythical snake with many heads, living only in the vicinity of the home of **Nohotšakyum**. This snake is killed and eaten only at the time of great national peril, as during an eclipse of the moon and especially that of the sun.

In a high cliff on the western shore of Lake Petha, there lives the god **Ioananohqu**, and on the opposite side of the lake the diety called **Kakotš**. The home of the former is the only one that has been located precisely. This is due to the fact that the abode of the god was visited in company with some Indians who went there to burn *copal* and offer sacrifices. The rite in connection with this will be described later (p. 148).

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXVIII, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> This word written according to the system adopted by the writer would be **Tšitšaktšob**.

The god named **Qaq** (fire) lives near Tenosique.. Among the early Mayas there was a goddess called **Suhuikak** (virgin fire). This god of the Lacandones may be connected with her, as new fire has to be made at certain points in the various rites (p. 133).

**Kananqaš** (caretaker of the forest) lives near the *monteria* of San Hipolito, a few leagues north of Petha. As his name implies, he seems to be the god of the forest. There is a class of spirits in Yucatan bearing the same name. They are the gods of the woods. What is found as the name of a single god among the Lacandones often appears as the name of a class of spirits among the Mayas of the present time. This latter idea is perhaps the outgrowth of the Spanish influence to bring about a subordination of the Maya gods to the many saints of the Catholic Church.

**Mensabak**<sup>1</sup> lives near San Hipolito. He is probably identified as the god of rain, as has been explained (p. 71). He is also called **Yumkanasabak**.<sup>2</sup> The latter name seems to be used when he is appealed to in behalf of a sick person. Just as **Nohotšakyum** has the spirits of the east to aid him, so **Mensabak** has for his helpers the spirits of the west (**Tšiqinqu**). He has a brother called **Qibant**, of whom there is little known.

**Nohqu** is a god living at Yaxchilan. The same name is found in combination in the name of the god **Ioananoqu**. They are probably two distinct gods however. **Nohqu** is a name given to a class of spirits among the Mayas who are the guardians of the *milpa*.

**Qaiyum** (singing god) is the god of music, and his *brasero* is always in the form of an earthen drum (Pl. XX, Fig. 2). He is said to live in the sky.

**Sškapuk** is a god of unknown attributes. His name means a hill of white earth, which may denote the character of the locality near Anaite, where the god lives.

<sup>1</sup> The literal meaning of this word is **men**, the maker of, and **sabak**, black powder or soot.

<sup>2</sup> The literal meaning would be **yum**, the god; **kana**, above; **sabak**, the black powder. Freely it is the god who is above the rain cloud.

There is a god of the bees.<sup>1</sup>

It seems as if there were separate ideas among the different settlements of the Lacandones regarding the residence of the gods other than the few most important ones. That each encampment had its own special gods in addition to a few possessed in common, seems probable. In a settlement visited on



FIG. 27.  
Tro-Cort. 104, b.

the Lacantun, **Icananorku**, **Kakotä**, **Sukapuk**, and **Mensabäk** were not found, although their names were recognized.

Besides the main deities, there are a large number of lesser gods or spirits whose duty it is to aid the gods in carrying out their work. **Štabai** is the name of a class of spirits living in the stones of the forest. The same group of spirits

is also now found in Yucatan. They are of evil nature. A god called **Tabai** without the female particle *ä* is mentioned as a deity of the Mayas at the time of the Conquest. This is but another example of the fact of the survival of the name of the god to the present time with a change of attributes.

**Tanupekqu** (the spirit who is moving) is the god of the thunder. He announces the approach of the rain. As has been stated, he is one of the servants of **Nohotšakyum**.

**Tanuhaqu** (the spirit who is striking or whipping) is the god of the lightning. He drives the storm, and the flash of the lightning is his whip.

The sun, **Qin**, is one of the lesser gods. His consort is the moon, called **Äkna**. She has no relation to the other goddess bearing the same name. When there is an eclipse of the sun, it is said that **Nohotšakyum** is ill. Rites are held and offerings are made to the gods.<sup>2</sup> Every one abstains from secular work

<sup>1</sup> Figure 27 shows a rite, probably an offering of corn (**kan**) in some form in honor of the bee god. In Codex Tro-Cortesianus, pp. 103-112, there is a long portion which has to do with the bees.

<sup>2</sup> The rite does not differ from those which will be described. See Chant No. 2.

of all kinds, and each family remains in their own home during the period of an eclipse. All kinds of animals may be freely eaten. An eclipse of the moon is a less serious event. It is regarded as a sign that the daughter of **Nohotšakyum** is ill. A rite (Chant No. 2) is celebrated as in the case of an eclipse of the sun. I was not successful in finding a god whose office seemed to deal with death, although it is certain that this god of death played a most important part among the early Mayas, as seen in his constantly occurring figure in the manuscripts. It is not impossible that some of the gods of the Lacandones may be identified with those represented in the Codices.

The gods are all more or less well disposed toward the people with the exception of **Usukun**. All have to be propitiated in various ways, however, or they are supposed to send fevers and other forms of sickness.

All the gods named in the previous list are not usually represented in any one encampment. Only those are found to whose shrine a pilgrimage has been made and a stone either carved or otherwise brought back.<sup>1</sup> These journeys cannot be made at will, but only after the god has shown himself as willing to receive such a pilgrimage.

There are two methods of divination by which it may be ascertained whether or not a god is willing to have his idol placed in the sacred hut, thus showing his consent to come and exert a beneficent influence over the encampment in question. These acts of divination may only be performed by the father or oldest son of the settlement, and it is only they and their direct line who understand the rite. Chanting is a necessary part to this ceremony of divination.

<sup>1</sup> In the encampment where a greater part of the rites to be described took place there were *braseros* containing the idols of **Yantho**, **Upal**, **Ākna**, **Icananohqu**, **Aqantšob**, **Nohqu**, **Kakotš**, **Mensabak**, **Kananqaš**, **Qibana**, **Usukum**, and **Qaiyum**. In another encampment visited, there were *braseros* with their hidden idols of **Nohotšakyum**, **Yantho**, **Upal**, **Icananohqu**, **Mensabak**, **Ioana**, **Aqantšob**, **Ākna**, **Qaq**, **Sakapuk**, **Usukun**, and **Qaiyum**. All these, as will be described later (p. 101), did not take part in any one rite, but only those who showed themselves as willing to accept the offering of the special rite.



One of these rites is performed with a strip from the leaf of a palm, and a part of the detached stem. The leaf is folded in the middle from side to side. Starting with the folded end, the leaf is rolled around the stem. The rite proper is then ready to begin. The stem and the leaf are rolled on the palm and fingers of the left hand, starting at the wrist with the fingers and palm of the right hand. The stem thus rolls in the same direction as the leaf is placed around it. The thumb and fingers of the left hand grasp the roll until the thumb and fingers of the right can start the motion again, with the stem and leaf at the wrist of the left hand. This motion is continued with frequent spitting on the hands until the end of the chant (No. 3) in which the name of the god occurs concerning whom the divination is desired. The leaf is then unwound from around the stem. If the latter is still in the same position in regard to the folded end of the leaf, it is a sign that the god is unpropitious in regard to the question asked. If, however, the stem is between or inside the folded end of the leaf rather than outside, the chanter knows that the petition is granted. It will be seen that, during the rolling between the palms, if one end of the leaf takes an extra turn around the stem or, as quite the same thing, one of the ends of the leaf unrolls by a single revolution, one of the halves of the leaf will be turned over, and, on unwinding, the stem will be found inside rather than outside the folded end as it was at first.<sup>1</sup>

There is another method of divination quite distinct from the first, but employed for the same purpose. The hands are placed together palm to palm and the fingers bent so that the nail of each finger on one hand may rest on the very edge of the nail of the corresponding finger of the other hand. The thumbs are not brought into play. This is a difficult act, and for a novice it is almost impossible. During the chant, which is the same as in the former rite of divination, the hands are held in this position, with the finger nails edge to edge, until the chanter

<sup>1</sup> The pointed character of the ends of the leaf aids the untwisting or extra winding of one of the ends during the rolling motion between the palms.

reaches the name of the god for whom the inquiry is held. The palms are then spread apart. If the nails still remain edge to edge, it is a sign that the god is willing to have his idol placed in the sacred inclosure. If one of the nails should slip over the edge of the other opposite, the omen is evil, and it is in this way that the god shows his unwillingness.

Sometimes before the fingers are placed together nail to nail there is a preliminary movement. The thumb and forefinger of the left hand are placed together nail to nail at the hollow on the inside of the arm opposite the elbow. The forearm is then measured off in spaces of about two inches by the thumb and forefinger. At each measurement the nails of the two digits must join edge to edge. This is carried to the top of the thumb of the right hand, when the part previously described of joining each finger of one hand to the corresponding finger of the other is carried out.

I have spoken of these acts of divination as if they were carried out principally to ascertain the willingness or unwillingness of a god to have a pilgrimage made to his shrine in search of an idol of the god in question. These journeys are made at very infrequent intervals, and they are becoming more and more rare. The principal use to which the divinatory rites are put is to ascertain if a god whose idol is already in the sacred hut is willing to exert his beneficent influence in some special rite. If the augury is of evil omen, the *brasero*, together with its idol, is not placed on the altar of palm leaves with those to whom the offerings are to be made, but it remains on the shelf where all the *ollas* rest when a rite is not in progress.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the encampment where most of the rites described were witnessed, three of the *braseros* with their idols remained on the shelf during all the rites observed, those of *Ākna*, *Kananqaš*, and *Ōibana*. A year later, those of *Kananqaš* and *Ōibana* were still found remaining on the shelf during the rites, as they were not disposed to exert a good influence over the encampment as shown by the act of divination. There was a change however. *Mensabak*, who, the year before, had been placed on the altar with the others who were well disposed, now remained on the shelf; and *Ākna*, who, the previous year, had been kept on the shelf, was now used in all the rites. In the other encampment where the gods have been named, the idols and *braseros* of *Qaq* and *Sākapuk*

The rites of divination are employed to the accompaniment of a different chant (No. 4) to ascertain the particular kind of offering desired by the gods in some special rite. In some encampments the gods as a whole enjoy one variety of offering as shown by divination, and in a neighboring settlement an entirely different kind of offering is desired. The character of the offerings given to the gods is most varied.<sup>1</sup> The gifts not only differ from place to place but from time to time. Each form of ceremony seems to have its special offering. The most common of all contributions is that of *copal* gum. This is either offered in crude lumps (*pom*) or worked into special forms (*sil*) (p. 125). The *copal* is burned as incense, and a pleasant odor is produced.

Another form of incense is made by burning the sap of the rubber tree. This is often combined with the *copal* as a gift to the gods, *qiluka*.

An intoxicating drink, *baltse*, and called in the chants *ha*, is another frequent offering together with different kinds of *posol* (*maao*). In the chants *posol* is called *tula* or *sul*. There are many combinations of food and drink offered to the incense-burners in behalf of the gods, and in some cases the quantity is brought into account. *Posol* made with honey has the name *kabitumasqil*; *posol* with cocoa, *ominuka*. Offerings of *baltse* in different quantities are called *napdil* (something measured with the fingers) and *wiobul* (something snapped with the fingers). The name *eroe* is given to an offering of a small gourd of *baltse*. An offering of thin and brown *tortillas* is called *tikinawa*, a form of *tortillas* made with wood *yatsewa*, and a *tortilla* made in the form of a cup *lekuwahil*. *Norwa* or *tutiwa* is a gift of thick *tortillas* to the gods. *Buliwa* is a *tamale* made of *frejoles* (*buul*)

seldom showed themselves as willing to be placed on the altar with the others in the celebration of a rite. These *ollas* remaining on the shelf were not entirely neglected. There were offerings made to them of food and drink, but *copal* was never burned in them nor was there any continued chanting made before them.

<sup>1</sup> Space does not allow me to enter upon a discussion of the identification of several of the kinds of offerings represented in the Codices, but this in itself would be a fruitful study.

and corn. Cocoa mixed with *baltše* is called *uyonin*. There are two offerings in which meat figures, *baqiluka* and *ututil*. Bands of bark are offered as fillets to the gods. They are called *huun*. A gift of these fillets together with *baltše* is called *huuninuka*. The bow and arrows are given to the gods at certain rites. An offering of red paint made of *achiote* berries (*kušu*) is common. In some of the ceremonies, flowers are presented to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods. Offerings of certain kinds of fish (*tšaklau* and *säktan*) are made in some of the rites. In addition to these offerings, a part of all the first fruits of the fields must be given to the gods each year.

I have not been able to make out the strict rule regarding the possession of a separate set of these idols and *braseros*. At first one might suppose that each totemic division worships at a single place where there is located a collection of idols more or less complete. This is not so except where members of the same gens live in the same encampment.

In the two encampments of the *maao* gens, where most of the rites described were observed, the two sets of sacred *ollas* together with their idols originally belonged to the same encampment. It will be seen (p. 99, note) that there is only one idol of *Nohotšakyum* in the two encampments, whereas both settlements possess idols of many of the other gods. The duplicate set was obtained in more recent pilgrimages. The idol of *Nohotšakyum* originally belonged to the father of the three brothers *Qin*, *Chankin*, and the one who had died (p. 43). By inheritance and pilgrimage, the father had come into the possession of the idols of a greater part of the gods. On his death they were divided among his three sons, the eldest obtaining the idol of *Nohotšakyum* and the *brasero* used at the time in connection with it, together with his share of the other idols with their incense-burners. The two younger sons took their part of the idols and the corresponding *braseros*, and made a new encampment for themselves not far away. These two collections of idols were gradually enlarged by pilgrimages to the home of the gods until each encampment contained those

of the main gods, with the exception of that of **Nohotšakyum**, of whom there was but one idol in the two settlements. This seems to show that there is some rule in regard to the possession of but one idol of the main god in a single family line.

**Priestly Duties.** Landa makes reference<sup>1</sup> to a priestly class which shows a well-defined system of organization: **Chilan**, or priests; **Chac**, sorcerers and physicians; and **Nacons**, assistants. It is to the first of these classes that one would naturally turn to find explanations of the questions which we would like answered concerning the system of hieroglyphs and that of the calendar together with the closely allied subject of the religion and the ceremonial rites. This class seems to have vanished completely, and we have remaining in isolated districts only the *gente rustica*. In Yucatan one finds a class of men who claim to know how to read the future through a crystal or by some other means (p. 163). These people bear the title **Men**, from the root of the verb meaning "to know how."<sup>2</sup> They are generally an ignorant and unintelligent class of people. They may be the descendants in office of the class of priests formerly called **Chac**, as they combine the power of healing with that of forecasting the future.

One is not surprised to find that the Lacandones of the present time seem to have no priests. The religion has ceased to be in any way national, and the function of priest is carried out by the head of the family in each encampment as in the most primitive form of human society. In one case the leader of the settlement, in taking charge of a rite, placed around his neck a string of seeds like those worn by the women. This may have had some ceremonial importance as showing his priestly function. The rigid authority of the father and husband over the members of the family is perhaps the outcome of the place he holds in the religious life. Visitors at ceremonial rites, however old they may be, are allowed only to assist the head of the family in the duties of the feast. The women and children of an encampment, together with the families of the near neigh-

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Garcia, 1905, pp. 52-57.

bors, remain in the domestic huts while the husbands and older boys are inside the sacred inclosure taking their parts in the rites.

Ceremonies.—There are no ceremonies where the women take any active part other than in the preparation of the offerings in the shelter adjoining the sacred hut.<sup>1</sup> At the close of a rite they are allowed to enter the inclosure and take a part in the general feasting. This exclusion of the women from any share in the religious life is a question of sex rather than of any family connection.

All the ceremonies of the Lacandones follow the same general idea, that of burning incense in behalf of the gods in the *braseros* and offering food and drink on the extended lip of the face on the incense-bowl. The rites vary only in regard to the nature of the articles offered. ~~Sacrifices~~ are always accompanied by chants or prayers which cover the whole variety of human experience met with by an Indian from his birth to his death. The ceremonies to be taken up do not cover this whole field, but they may be taken as sufficient criteria by which to judge of the nature of the others.

The rites described occurred in the two neighboring encampments, the people of whom I have already mentioned. The *caribals*, as the settlements are called by the Mexicans of the country, are situated one league and a half east of Lake Petha in Chiapas, near the trail running from Tenosique and La Ilusion to Ocosingo. The people are the same individuals whom Mr. Maler describes as living on the shore of Lake Petha.<sup>2</sup>

I shall take up in detail the ceremony in which the sacred *ollas* or *braseros* are renewed. There are many minor rites

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. XII, Chap. VII, p. 699: "Todos los Indios van siempre à la adoracion de el Idolo; las mugeres no se hallan presentes, sino sola la doncella, que haze el pan à los Ministros de el demonio."

Cf. also Landa, 1864, Chap. XL, p. 278: "Venido pues el año nuevo, se juntavan todos los varones en el patio del templo solos, porque en ningun sacrificio o fiesta que en el templo se hazia, havian de hallarse mugeres."

<sup>2</sup> Maler, 1901-1903, Chap. V.

which will be touched upon, but they are all similar to some part of the renewal ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

Theoretically, there must be a renewal of the incense-burners each year. In practice, however, it does not always take place, owing to the great amount of work necessary in carrying out such a rite and the large quantity of corn consumed in the repeated offerings to the gods. To keep within the letter of the law, there is always at least one incense-burner made each year, and if the season has been a fruitful one, and there is an abundance of corn, the whole ceremony is celebrated.

Regarding this renovation of the incense-vessels, there is a very pleasing parallel found in Landa.<sup>2</sup> In the month **Chen** or **Yax**, which roughly corresponds, according to the author, to our December or January, a festival called **Oona** was celebrated in honor of the **Chacs**, whom the people regarded as the lords of the field.<sup>3</sup>

The whole ceremony as observed among the Lacandones stretches over considerably more than a month. In the two celebrations of this series of rites witnessed, they began about the middle of February and lasted until nearly the end of March. I could find in the dates of the various parts of the ceremony no correlation to the phases of the moon or of any constellation, although it seems as if something of this sort must, at one time, have been the regulating factor. The time of observing the rite depends in great part on the ripening of the products of the *milpa*. It is in these rites that all the first fruits of the field must be offered to the gods before anything may be eaten by the people. The work of making the new *milpa* is usually postponed until the renewal ceremony is completed.

<sup>1</sup> The word "ceremony" will be used as signifying a succession of rites held for a single purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XL, p. 242. (See quotation in note, p. 84.) *Ibid.*, Chap. XL, p. 278: "Para celebrarla con mas solemnidad, renovavan en este dia todas las cosas de su servicio, como platos, vasos, vanquillos, serillas, y la ropa vieja, y las mantillas en que tenian los idolos enbueitos."

<sup>3</sup> The word **tšak** (**chac**) is seen in the name of the main god in the pantheon, **Noho(tš)-tšak-yum**, and also in the name of the rain gods found among the Mayas of Yucatan, **Nukutš-yum-tšak-ob** (p. 155).

The general idea in this series of rites for the renewal of the sacred *ollas* is that these *braseros* die and new ones must be made to take their places.<sup>1</sup>

Before the rite can take place where the *braseros* of the previous year are given their last offering and the sacred idol removed, the new *ollas* must be made together with a large earthen drum and a large number of *braseritos*. The latter are supposed to aid in the general ceremony as additional servants of the gods.

Each of this smaller class of *ollas* belongs to a certain one of the idols contained in the larger incense-vessels. Although these *braseritos* are all very much alike as regards shape and decoration, they can be distinguished by their owners each from the other, and the leader knows to which one of the main gods each belongs. As an offering is administered to each of these *braseritos*, the chant denotes in what way the gift is to be disposed of. Some of the *braseritos* are given directly to the gods represented by the larger incense-burners, who act as the agents of the idol contained in their bowls, and others of the *braseritos* are given to the gods to serve as messengers to carry the offering to *Nohotšakyum*.

In one encampment where the renewal rites were observed there were thirty-two of the common form of *braserito*. Four were given to *Aqantšob* for his own use, two to *Mensabak*, two to *Nohqu*, two to *Yantho*, two to *Upal*, and four to *Icananohqu* and *Kakotš*, and all for their individual use (*atšili*).<sup>2</sup> Four others were given to *Icananohqu* for him to carry to *Nohotšakyum* (*akubtik yum*).<sup>3</sup> *Kakotš* was given, in addition to those for his own use as servants, four to aid him in carrying the offering to the main god and another four to help in taking the sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1884, Chap. XXVII, p. 158: "Bien sabian ellos que los idolos eran obras suyas y muertas y sin deidad, mas que los tenian en reverencia por lo que representavan, y porque les avian hecho con tantas cerimonias, en especial los de palo."

<sup>2</sup> *Atšili*, for yourself or for you as your right. It occurs in the chants.

<sup>3</sup> *Akubtik-yum*, you restore it (the offering) to the father. The idea is that he originally gave it.



to **Aqantšob**. The relative importance of the gods in this encampment as regards their willingness to cure may be made out from the respective number of *braseritos* given to each god. **Aqantšob** seems to be the most well disposed of the gods represented in the settlement, and **Icananohqu** and **Kakotš**, although having four of the *braseritos* as their own, still must play the rôle of messengers, and they each have four of the small *ollas* given them, with the express command to restore (**kub**) the offering to **Nohotšakyum**, and, as was seen, **Kakotš** has, in addition, four others to carry to **Aqantšob**. The prominence given to the latter god is probably due to the fact that in the rite of divination the name of this god has always appeared as a good omen or that some one has been cured under the direction of this god.

In the manufacture of the two kinds of incense-burners, the *braseros* and the *braseritos*, certain definite restrictions are made. A small shelter of palm leaves must first of all be built in a retired spot at some distance from the regular encampment.<sup>1</sup> Here a quantity of clay and quartz sand are brought together and the work of modeling the sacred *ollas* begun. The very greatest secrecy is observed, and the women are on no account allowed to approach the shelter where the new incense-burners are being made. The modeler places a mass of clay on a portion of a banana leaf, which in turn rests on a low wooden stool. The bowl of the *brasero* is made first, chiefly by means of the fingers. A small paddle of wood is used to smooth down the surfaces.<sup>2</sup> On the edge of the bowl, a flat piece of wet clay is placed as the foundation for the head. The nose, hair, eyes, and mouth are made and stuck on afterward. Through the center of the bottom of the bowl a single hole is made, and at

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XL, p. 308: "Venida la madera hazian una casilla de paja cercada donde metian la madera y una tinaja para en que echar los idolos y alli tenerlos atapados como los fuessen haziendo . . . y con estos adereços se encerravan en la casilla el sacerdote y los chaces y el official, y començavan su labor de dioses."

<sup>2</sup> Figure 28 may show the shaping by means of a wooden paddle, although it seems more likely that the implement in the hands of the workman is of stone, and in that case the carving of a stone idol is probably represented.

both sides similar holes, one above the other, for ventilation. The *ollas* are allowed to dry several days, when they are baked for a few hours in a bed of hot coals.<sup>1</sup> After the baking, the



FIG. 28.  
Tro-Cort. 97, b.



FIG. 29.  
Tro-Cort. 100, b.

bowls are ready to be decorated as has been described (p. 69).<sup>2</sup> The white paint is made of chalk, and put on over all the surface of the *olla*. The red color, made from the *achiote* berry, and the black, of the soot collected from the burning *copal*, are put on with a brush composed of a stick, on the end of which some cotton is wound.

At the first of these renewal ceremonies witnessed, there were twenty-six *ollas* made, all identical in form with one exception.



FIG. 30.  
Tro-Cort. 99, d.



FIG. 31.  
Tro-Cort. 101, b.

Eight were of the larger size, and were to contain the stone idols of the gods, the other eighteen were smaller and were

<sup>1</sup> According to Förstemann (1902, p. 138), Fig. 29 shows a clay idol being baked in an oven. The head is the same as that in Figs. 25 and 28, and is similar to god C, of Schellhas (1904, p. 19).

<sup>2</sup> Figures 30 and 31 may show the painting of the incense-bowls with the end of a leaf. Figure 31 shows the same form of head.

made to contain no idols. Of this number of smaller *ollas*, one differed from all the others in form (Fig. 32 and Pl. XX, Fig. 1). Below the head on the edge of the bowl there stretched a round projection of the same material as the bowl, about six inches long and an inch in diameter. The end was flattened and represented a hand. This *olla* may be described



FIG. 32.

Handled incense-burner of the Lacandones.

as a form of incense-bowl with a handle. This shape is met with, but without the head, in the remains of the older culture. In the Peabody Museum there are several clay arms with closed hands which might well have served as handles to incense-burners in the same

way as the arm and hand represented by this *olla* of the Lacandones.<sup>1</sup> The handled incense-burner with the head on the side of the bowl, however, has not been met with as far as I know among other than the Lacandones. The ends of most of the ancient handled incense-burners represent the mouth of an animal, usually that of a serpent. It may be that the offerings of food were placed in the mouth of these animal heads on the ends of the handles, as we find at the present time the food placed in the mouth of the common form of *brasero* without a handle. But on the handled incense-burners of the Lacandones, it is on the outstretched hand rather than on the mouth of the *brasero* that the offerings of food and drink are placed. This handled *olla* is called *Ākna*, the mother. It never appears except at this ceremony, when the new *braseros* are installed. The name of the renewal rite as given by Landa<sup>2</sup> is *Ocna*. These two terms are undoubtedly the same; and the name of the whole rite may take its name from that of the idol with the projecting arm, as this is regarded as the ceremonial mother of the new *ollas*. She seems to have no relation to the other and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pl. XIX, Fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. X, p. 242.

more important goddess who bears the same name. The latter is the mother of many of the main gods, whereas the former is the ceremonial mother of the *braseros* themselves. This *olla* with the projecting arm plays an unimportant part in the several rites.

In a later ceremony witnessed at another encampment from that just described, there were forty *ollas* (Fig. 33, p. 112), only seven of which were of the larger variety. The others were *braseritos*, and all of the same form with the exception of the ceremonial mother, whose *olla* has just been described. In addition to the sacred *ollas* there is also made in preparation for the renewal ceremony a ceremonial drum to take the place of that used during the previous year. Sometimes two drums are made at this time. These as well as the *braseros* are supposed to die each year.

The drum is composed of a clay jar (Pl. XX, Fig. 2) about twenty inches high. Over the top of the jar is stretched a piece of the hide of the *tepeizquite* for a head. The whole drum is painted white. On one side near the top there is a head similar in all respects to that found on all the sacred *ollas*. This head, as it has been explained, represents one of the lesser gods called *Qaiyum*.

The modeling, baking, and painting of all the *ollas* occupies at least four weeks, and it is carried on, as has been stated, with the utmost secrecy, away from all except the men of the immediate family who are to celebrate the feast. These men, during this period of preparation, as well as throughout the entire rite, sleep in the ceremonial hut where the old idols are kept.

At this time of preparation a new ceremonial robe is started (Pl. XV, Fig. 1). The cotton must be spun and woven by an old woman of the tribe, and a widow.<sup>1</sup> All the work has to be done in the sacred inclosure. This robe is for the leader of the ceremony.

I have already spoken of the exterior of the sacred hut (p. 64). A description of the interior would be of assistance

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXVI, p. 222: ". . . Les mandava el demonio ofrecerle hardillas y un paramento sin labores ; el qual texessen las viejas."

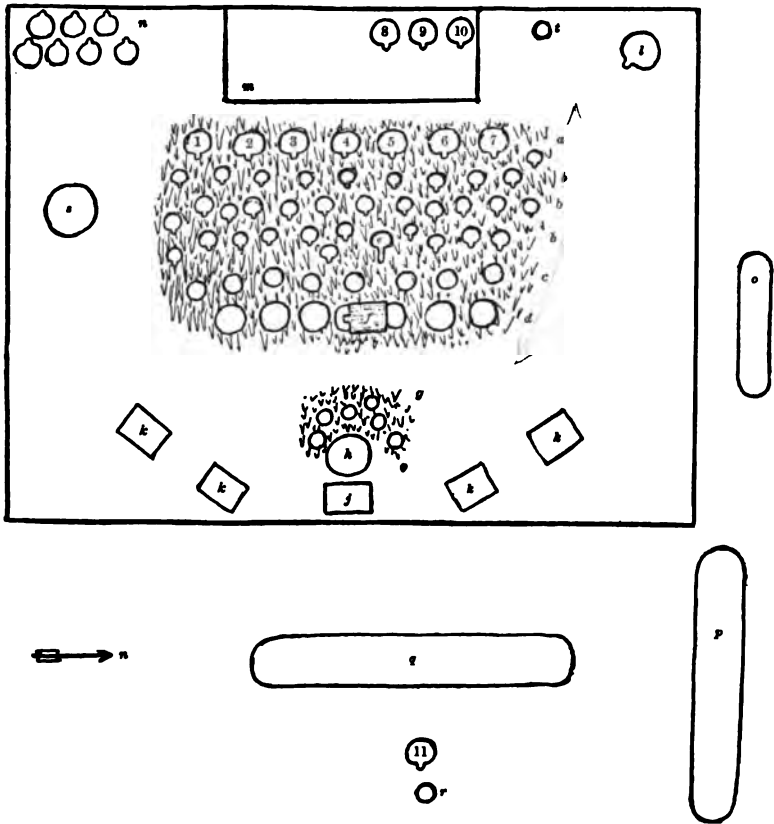


FIG. 33.

## Plan of sacred inclosure of the Lacandones.

*a*, row of *braseros*.  
*b*, rows of *braseros*.  
*c*, row of *balise*.  
*d*, row of *buliwa*.  
*e*, olla with arm.  
*f*, board of *copal*.  
*g*, *ficaras* to be filled.  
*h*, jar for *balise*.  
*j*, seat of leader.  
*k*, seats of others.  
*l*, drum, *Qaiyum*.  
*m*, shelf for ollas.  
*n*, dead *braseros*.  
*o*, log of water.  
*p*, log for sugar cane.

*q*, log for *balise*.  
*r*, offering for *Usukun*.  
*s*, ceremonial fire.  
*t*, cover to make soot.  
 1, *brasero* of *Kakotä*.  
 2, *brasero* of *Nohqu*.  
 3, *brasero* of *Yantho*.  
 4, *brasero* of *Aqantšob*.  
 5, *brasero* of *Ioananoqu*.  
 6, *brasero* of *Äkna*.  
 7, *brasero* of *Upal*.  
 8, *brasero* of *Mensabak*.  
 9, *brasero* of *Kananqasä*.  
 10, *brasero* of *Qibana*.  
 11, *brasero* of *Usukun*.

to a better understanding of the rites as they progress.<sup>1</sup> I shall speak of it as it appears during the progress of the renewal ceremony after the new *braseros* have replaced those of the previous year, and the *braseritos* are arranged in front of the latter. There is, in addition, an offering of *baltse* before the *braseritos* (Fig. 33).

When a ceremony is not being observed, the incense-burners rest on a hanging shelf (*m*, Fig. 33), in the middle of the western side of the sacred hut.<sup>2</sup> They are arranged in one or two rows, with their heads always facing the east.

A carpet of palm leaves covers the ground on the western side of the *hermita* directly in front of the hanging shelf. During the celebration of a rite, the sacred *ollas* are arranged in a row along the carpet of leaves stretching north and south (*a*, Fig. 33, also Pl. XX, Fig. 1). The layer of green on which the *braseros* rest together with the offerings made to them, I shall hereafter call the altar.<sup>3</sup> The heads on all the *braseros* face the east, which is the one point toward which everything and everybody in the sacred inclosure turn when the important parts of the rites are being carried out. It must not be supposed, however, that the other points of the compass are neglected. When the leader blows his shell trumpet to call the gods to come and partake of the offering, he often turns to the other points as well as to the east.

Directly in front of the line of the main *ollas* or *braseros* in the interior of the hut are the *braseritos* (*b, b, b*, Fig. 33).

<sup>1</sup> I have thought it best to describe in detail the interior of one of these *hermita*. The arrangement was essentially the same in all those visited, so that the description may be taken as a general statement.

<sup>2</sup> Sapper (1891, p. 893) describes the interior of the sacred hut of a Lacandone settlement which he visited on the Rio de la Pasion: "... Sah ich die zahlreichen thönernen, mit einer vorstehenden gesichtsmaske geschmückten Opferschalen, welche, mit Kopal und Wachs gefüllt, auf einigen Hängebrettern auf der westseite des gebäudes standen; davon befand sich ein niedriger Tisch, auf welchem Wachskerzen abgebrannt worden zu sein schienen. Eigentliche Götzenbilder habe ich nicht bemerkt, sofern nicht etwa die Gesichtsmasken der Opferschalen dafür angesprochen werden müssen."

<sup>3</sup> In one settlement the incense-burners during the celebration of a rite were placed upon a low table instead of on a carpet of palm leaves on the ground.

The faces on these also point toward the east. They are employed each year only in this ceremony of the renewal of the incense-burners of the gods, after which they are deposited under a cliff near Lake Petha.

In addition to the *ollas* of the main gods and the smaller *ollas* of the servants of the gods, there are usually other incense-bowls included in the collection possessed by the settlement. They are not arranged on the altar of leaves, but remain on the suspended shelf when the others are taken down for the celebration of a rite (8, 9, 10, Fig. 33). These *ollas*, as it has been explained, belong to the gods who are not well disposed at this special rite toward the people of the encampment. They do not for this reason find a place with the others on the altar. They cannot be entirely neglected, however, and at intervals they are given offerings of food and drink.

At the northwest corner of the hut, the ceremonial drum is situated (l, Fig. 33, also Pl. XX, Fig. 2). The head on the drum faces the east.

A short distance in front of the altar and near the eastern side of the hut is a jar (j, Fig. 33, also Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2) containing the ceremonial drink. From this the gourds are filled which later are placed in front of the lines of sacred *ollas*. The jar often has a small head on one side, much smaller and more insignificant than those on the drums or incense-burners. The head faces the altar rather than the east.<sup>1</sup>

In front of the jar to the west a carpet of palm leaves is spread. On this the gourds rest when being filled with the *baltse* contained in the jar (g, Fig. 33).

Directly behind the jar and grouped on either side are several short-legged wooden stools<sup>2</sup> (j, k, k, k, k, Fig. 33). The one behind the jar (j) and facing the *ollas* is occupied

<sup>1</sup> A circle painted in red is sometimes found in place of the clay head on the jar. This is the case on the jar shown in the figures. It may be that the design on the upper jar (Fig. 25, p. 88) and a similar one near the top of the jar (Fig. 46, p. 139) are conventionalized representations of this head.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sapper, 1897, p. 262: "Am Pet Ha beobachtete ich zudem niedrige Stühlchen mit vier Füßen."

during the ceremony by the leader or giver of the feast. The other seats are used by the participants in the rite. The assistant of the leader sits at his right.

At the southwest corner of the hut, the old incense-burners of the previous year, which are supposed to be dead, are grouped on the ground (*n*, Fig. 33). The heads face the west rather than the east, and each bowl contains a shell of the cocoa bean turned bottom up and covering the head on the edge of the bowl. These shells are used in giving the sacred *ollas* a last oblation before they are carried away and deposited under a cliff.

The ceremonial rattle (Fig. 19, p. 75) hangs from the roof at the northern side of the suspended shelf, as well as the reed oboe. The cover used to collect the soot from the burning *copal* for making the black paint also finds a place in the ceremonial hut, together with gourds and bark boxes in great numbers which hold the stores and various supplies employed in the different rites. Everything to be used in any way in the ceremonies has to be kept in the *hermita*. The bows and arrows and the flint points seem also to be made in this house, and here they are always kept.

A large number of the lower jaws of several kinds of animals, especially of the deer, the monkey, and the wild boar, were observed sticking into the inside of the thatched roof. These no doubt serve as reminders, possibly as counts, of sacrifices of meat made to the idols.<sup>1</sup>

Hollow logs containing hives of bees are often found in one corner of the sacred hut.

In the general neatness of this sacred building there is a great contrast to the usual appearance of the interior of the domestic huts.

In front of the house to the east are two logs (*p*, *q*, Fig. 33) about eighteen inches in diameter, lying on the ground. They are hollowed out for the greater part of their length (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3) and the hole inside covered over with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> Sapper (1891, p. 898) notes the presence of the lower jaws in the *hermita* which he visited, together with bird feathers doubtless serving a similar purpose.



a small opening near the end. Small sticks are laid crosswise at intervals over the opening, and on these palm leaves are placed. These logs serve as reservoirs for the ceremonial drink. It is in these receptacles that it is mixed and allowed to ferment.<sup>1</sup> Just below the opening left in the top, where the liquid is dipped out, there are two circles in red. These correspond to the pair of circles on the two posts and beams at the western side of the hut, on either side of the hanging shelf. These, as has been stated, are probably the same in signification as the bands of bark fiber colored red and tied around the foreheads of the participants in certain of the rites.

A short distance to the east of the sacred hut and in front of one of the hollow logs is a single incense-burner facing the east (11, Fig. 33). This belongs to the god *Usukun* and contains his idol. His influence is not wholly for the good, and his idol is not allowed to form one of the collection inside the *hermita*.

To the north of the hut is another log (o, Fig. 33). This contains water, and it is here that the leader and his assistants always wash their hands both on entering and leaving the sacred inclosure for any secular duties outside.

A screen of palm leaves often surrounds the sacred hut together with the three logs and the *olla* under the tree.

With every sacrifice made to the idols there are usually three stages. The article is brought in and "placed" before the idols, or, as it is expressed in the chants, "restored" to them. This act is sometimes carried out without chanting. The gift is then "offered" to the *braseros* and their idols as a sacrifice, and the gods are asked to come in person and partake of the offering. Finally the food and drink are "administered" to the heads on the incense-burners in behalf of the god. *Posol* and *baltse* are placed on the mouths of the figures on the side of the bowls with a spoon and on the end of a roll of palm leaves respectively, whereas an offering of meat or *buliwa* is placed on the lip of

<sup>1</sup> In one encampment the logs were lacking, and the *baltse* was made in large earthen vessels.

the *brasero* with the fingers. This offering and administration of food and drink are always accompanied by chanting.

The chants generally describe the acts being performed to their accompaniment, in addition to offering up prayers for health and freedom from pain and death. There is considerable rhythm to the chants of the Lacandones. Syllables are elided, lengthened, and slurred. On this account, it is often difficult to identify the sounds as having any meaning. The voice is pitched high and is often tremolo. The chants do not seem to be fixed and unchangeable, as one finds among many Indian tribes. They are, instead, very elastic. With the exception of certain fixed phrases, they can be lengthened or shortened and made to fit the nature of the case in behalf of which they are offered. Sometimes the god whose *brasero* and idol is being addressed is named in the prayer, at other times the simple title *Yum* is given him. The general order of chant begins with an explanation of what is being done and the name of the god to whom the sacrifice is being offered, with a petition for the spirit of the *brasero* to carry the gift to the god represented by the idol inside the bowl and to whom the spirit belongs as a servant. The chants usually end with the name of the person or persons in behalf of whom the offering is made. If the rite is short in that there are not many gods to whom offerings are to be made, a prayer for protection against fever and the bites of snakes and tigers is often added. Thus, it will be seen that, almost at will, the leader may arrange his chant, keeping, however, to certain forms of speech.

**Renewal rite.** — I shall now take up a detailed description of the rites held in celebrating the ceremony of the renewal of the sacred *ollas*. Some days before a beginning is made in making the new incense-burners, the old *braseros* are taken down from the shelf for the final time and placed on the altar of palm leaves. For the next six weeks, or during the time when the *ollas* are being made, there is a daily offering of *posol* made to the old *braseros* who are about to die and be superseded by the new ones.

This daily gift of *posol* is varied at intervals by a more elaborate rite. These rites are kept up until the new *braseros* are molded, baked, and painted, when they are brought to the sacred hut; and the stone idols, concealed in each case under the *copal* ash of the old *ollas*, are removed and placed in the bowls of the new *braseros*. During certain portions of this time the men do not wash, and they live separated from their families.<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning of the renewal ceremony to the end, the men of the encampment sleep in the sacred hut as a protection to the *braseros*, which remain on the altar of palm leaves from the time when these daily offerings of *posol* are made, marking the beginning of the decline and death of the old *braseros*, until the subsequent installation of the new *ollas*.

The daily offering of *posol* is a simple rite, usually taking about two hours. This takes place generally in the morning, after which the men return to the secret shelter, where the work of manufacturing the new *ollas* is carried on. Each night the women of the encampment are kept busy grinding the corn for the offering of *posol* for the following day. This is carried on in the small shelter to the west of the sacred hut and in which all the food offered to the gods in the different rites is prepared. In the morning the ground corn is mixed with water in a large earthen bowl holding several gallons.

The first act in this daily rite is placing rough lumps of *copal* gum inside the bowls of the incense-burners. This is done by the leader of the rite, usually the head of the encampment. These pieces of incense are not in the form of nodules and arranged on a board as will be seen in a later rite (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 3), but simply masses of the gum taken from a large supply contained in a shallow gourd. The men present all turn their backs as this preparatory act is being performed. The women do not enter the sacred inclosure until the very end, when the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXVII, p. 156: "Y absteniense de sus mugeres para la celebracion de todas sus fiestas. . . . Y en algunas ayunos de sus fiestas no comian carne ni conocian sus mugeres."

Also cf. *ibid.*, Chap. XL, p. 278: "Para esta fiesta . . . y abstenerse de sus mugeres."

general feast begins. As in all the other offerings, the *braseros* of the main gods and especially that of **Nohotšakyum**, if one is possessed by the encampment, receive a larger supply of *copal* than the *ollas* of the less important gods. The *brasero* of **Usukun** at the east of the sacred hut is not neglected at this distribution of *copal*.

As has been noted, during the time of these last rites to the old *braseros* the men of the encampment are engaged in the work of making new incense-burners. A chant is made (No. 5) at the distribution of *copal* which describes the work in progress in making the new *ollas*.

The leader then leaves the inclosure and goes to the neighboring shelter, where he receives at the hands of his wife, two at a time, *jicaras* or gourds filled with *posol*.<sup>1</sup> Great care is taken to have the outside of the vessel free from all traces of the liquid. Many of the *jicaras* are decorated with incised drawings (Figs. 4-15, and Pl. XXI, Fig 1). The leader brings in the gourds two by two and places them in front of the row of *braseros* on the carpet of green leaves (Pl. XX, Fig. 3). To prevent them from falling over, they rest on rings woven of a pliable vine. The *brasero* of **Usukun** in front of the sacred hut has a single *jicara* of the *posol* deposited before it. The chant (No. 6) does not differ greatly from that used when the *copal* is distributed. The beginning, however, is quite different. As the leader stands before the line of *braseros* with a gourd of the liquid in each hand, he begins a low droning sound which increases in intensity until he has stooped down and placed the *jicara* before the *olla* to which it belongs when the regular chant begins.

At the completion of the depositing of the *posol*, the leader goes to the eastward of the hut and blows five long blasts on the conch shell, thus calling the gods to come in person.

With a long-handled spoon (**huyup**), the bowl of which is

<sup>1</sup> The number of *jicaras* offered varies. In the daily rites there are usually three given to each of the *braseros*, one in behalf of the children, one in behalf of the wife, and one in behalf of the man himself.

not more than an inch in diameter, the giver of the feast administers to the head on each of the *braseros* a small particle from each of the gourds of *posol* by placing it upon the mouth of each one. This act thus consecrates the entire contents of each *jicara* to the use of all the gods represented by the *braseros* by giving a part for the whole. It is quite as necessary, however, that, at the end of the rite, the entire contents of the gourds shall be consumed by the leader and his assistants.

During the feeding of the *braseros*, the chant (No. 7) is repeated as many times as is necessary until all have been given the offering. The incense-burner of *Usukun* is given *posol* in the same way. The chant (No. 8) is shorter than that used before the other gods.

The leader, standing at the east of the sacred hut and facing the east in the direction of the home of *Nohotšakyum*, spatters a small particle of the *posol* from the end of the spoon into the air. He utters a short prayer (No. 9) as he does this.

It is at this time in the rite that the *braseros* whose owners are not well disposed at the time are given an offering of the *posol* contained in the *jicaras*. These incense-burners, as it has been explained, remain on the suspended shelf. The chant is unimportant (No. 10). The leader also places a particle of the *posol* on the head of the ceremonial drum, uttering a prayer (No. 11) which simply explains his action.

The conch shell is then blown a second time as after the depositing of the *posol*. To each man present the leader next gives two palm leaves and to each youth a single leaf. In some of the rites these leaves are preserved for future use. In such a case they are folded together and tied with small shreds of the leaf (Pl. XXI, Fig.1). Usually, however, they are for immediate use.

In the daily act of offering *posol* a ceremonial fire is not made. The ordinary fire, always burning in the sacred hut, is used to kindle two pine sticks, which in turn are employed to ignite the *copal* placed inside each of the *braseros*. There is no chanting

during this act. A fire sending out dense clouds of black smoke is soon burning in each *olla*.

After the *copal* is all kindled, the leader asks every one an implied question (No. 12) requesting permission to continue. He then takes his place, together with his son, at the western side of the line of blazing *braseros*. The other participants in the rite also gather round and all begin their individual chanting (No. 13), waving at the same time the leaves<sup>1</sup> in the smoke of the burning *copal*. Every one seems to repeat the same chant, but it is not done in unison. The result is quite unintelligible and confusing. The same words are repeated over each of the gods represented by the idols in the *braseros*. There is no seeming order in the chanting. At intervals the men rub the palm leaves over their own shoulders. The *copal* in the *brasero* under the tree at the east of the hut is also lighted, and each person goes there for a moment and waves his leaves in the smoke. The chanting does not cease until the fires have begun to die out in the *ollas*.



FIG. 34.

Tro-Cort. 56, a.

Every man then leaves the inclosure and goes to the domestic hut where the women and children are gathered. Each father sits down behind his family, chants, and taps each one with the palm leaves (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2). These are the medium by which the efficient and healing power of the gods as revealed in the smoke of the incense is carried to those who need it. If any special part of the body is afflicted, it is tapped and rubbed at greater length with the leaves. There seems to be much liberty used in the chant given at the same time (No. 14). It varies according to the circumstances and condition of the person in whose behalf it is uttered.

<sup>1</sup> Figure 34 may show a figure carrying a bundle of these leaves.

At the completion of this general rite over the members of the family, the men return to the inclosure, and a second administration of *posol* is made to the *braseros* by the leader.

The daily act of offering *posol* is sometimes varied at this point. When the men return after having chanted with the leaves before the members of the family, the leader sometimes brings in from the adjoining shelter two *jicaras* of a preparation made of cocoa berries and beaten into a froth. He distributes the contents of the two gourds among the *jicaras* resting in front of the *braseros* and containing *posol*. This is all done in silence. Instead of the *posol* as in the shorter rite, this cocoa, which remains floating on the top of the latter, is administered with the long spoon to the heads on the *braseros* in behalf of the idols inside the bowl.

Low wooden stools are arranged in a semicircle along the eastern side of the hut (*k*, Fig. 33) and the men occupy them at this time, all facing the east. The leader gives each man a single *jicara* of *posol*, or of the *posol* mixed with cocoa, saying a few words as he does this (No. 15).

It is the duty of every one to answer, *Bai*, yes. The assistant then gives a similar gourd to the giver of the feast, who sits in the middle (*j*, Fig. 33), and he is addressed with the same formula as he, in his turn, had addressed to the others.

Each man offers the contents of his *jicara* in the first place to the gods living in the four cardinal points by spattering a small portion from the end of his spoon and chanting (No. 16).

As has been stated, it is one of the obligations of a feast that every one shall eat and drink every particle of the offering contained in the gourd given him by the leader. The inside of the *jicara* is even cleaned by rubbing the hand around it, and the spoon is treated in the same way until not a drop of the offering remains unconsumed.

Usually no more than the immediate family take part in this rite, and each of the male members has received a single gourd of the *posol*. There still remain, therefore, in front of the *braseros* many *jicaras* of the offering. From these a third adminis-

tration is made to the sacred *ollas* with the same chant (No. 7). These gourds are then distributed among the men by the leader, and he is also given an equal number by the assistant in addition to the one which had rested in front of the *brasero* of *Usukun* at the east of the ceremonial hut.

The men then carry their gourds of *posol* which they cannot drink outside the inclosure to their families, as there is no obligation concerning any of the *jicaras* except the first. The men return to the sacred hut again and drink what they had saved out for themselves (Pl. XXII, Fig. 1). On starting every new gourd of the offering, the contents is spattered in the same way as the first had been.

The *posol* remaining in the *jicaras* after every one of the family has had all he desires is poured back into the large *olla* where it had been mixed, and this is consumed during the day and night. During the progress of these rites, the people have no necessity of preparing food other than the *posol* and the other offerings directed by their religion.

At least twice during the time of manufacture of the new *braseros*, a more elaborate rite is performed before the old incense-burners, consisting of an offering of *baltse*, *buliwa*, meat, and fillets of bark<sup>1</sup> in addition to the regular offering of *posol* just described.

The *posol* rite comes as usual in the morning, and in the late afternoon the other offerings are made. The rite often lasts far into the night.

The name of the principal food or drink offered in the ceremony is used roughly to designate the rite. *Baltse* is the offering most favored by the gods. This is a fermented drink made from the bark of a tree called *baltse* (Spanish *pitarrilla*), mixed with wild honey or sugar cane and water.<sup>2</sup> The honey employed

<sup>1</sup> See list of offerings made to the gods, note, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXII, p. 122: "Y que hazen el vino de miel y agua, y cierta raiz de un arbol que para esto criavan con lo qual se hazia el vino fuerte y muy hediondo."

Cf. also Aguila, 1839, p. 17: "Los Indios naturales dessa Nueva-Espana hazen un cierto vino que se llama Pulque, en lo quae dizque en los tiempos que hazen



is usually gathered in the forest; but in some instances, where special devotion is desired, hollow logs are placed in one corner of the sacred hut, and into this the bees deposit their honey, which is afterwards used in making the ceremonial drink. The honey thus made is never used by the people with their daily food, as this would be considered a sacrilegious act. This collection of honey in hollow logs made for the purpose is common among the Mayas, although it has lost its ceremonial significance. Among the latter people the god of the bees is called *Kananholkan*, the keeper of the door of the sky.

In appearance the *baltse* is milky white, sour to the smell, and at first very disagreeable to the taste. It contains a small per cent of alcohol, as it is allowed to ferment. Drunkenness, the desired result, is obtained by drinking large quantities.<sup>1</sup> The early accounts speak of this custom of drinking large quantities of *baltse* as most healthful, and that after the common use of it was prohibited by the Spaniards, the natives suffered in consequence.<sup>2</sup>

Owing to the necessity of fermentation, the *baltse* must be

sus fiestas, y en todo el mas tiempo del año echan una raiz, que ellos siebran para efeto de echar en el dicho vino, y para le fortificar, y tomar mas sabor en ello, con el qual se emborrachan; y assi emborrachados hazen sus ceremonias, y sacrificios, que solian hazer antiguamente."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Villagutierre, Bk. VIII, Chap. XII, p. 498: "Los varones . . . gastavan lo mas de el tiempo en idolatrar, baylar, y emborracharse, à todas horas, y tiempos con los fuertes Brebages, que saben confeccionar."

Cf. also "Relación de Dohot, y Cabecera de Tetzimin," Vol. XIII, p. 207: "Hazian un vino da agua e myel y hechavan una rrayz que llaman balche en su lengua y hechavano en unos vassos de palo a menera de artesas grandes que hazian a treynta e quarenta e a cinquenta arrobas de agua e cocia e hervia alli dos dias ello solo por si e haziase una cosa muy fuerte y que olia mal, y en sus bayles andando baylando les yvan dando desto a beber en unos vasitos pequenos y a menudo, y en breve espacio se emborrachavan."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Relación de la Ciudad de Valladolid," 1900, Vol. XIII, p. 28: "Este vino dicen les causaba sanidad porque con el se purgaban los cuerpos y lanzaban por la boca muchas lombrices, criabanse robustos y los viejos vivian mucho tiempo y frescos."

Cf. also "Relación de Tequite," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 106: "No biben tanto agora porque los rreligiosos les an quitado esta custumbre y esto a sido muy dañoso para sus saludes aberselo quitado dicen los rreligiosos que se emborrachaban con este bino sobredicho."

made before the day set for the rite to come off. A large supply of the bark of the tree is collected and placed in one of the hollow logs made for the purpose and situated at the east of the sacred hut (*q*, Fig. 33). In the second hollow log (*p*, Fig. 33) a quantity of honey or, if this is lacking, a large supply of sugar cane together with water is placed. If the sugar cane is used, the whole is pounded until the juice is extracted (Pl. XXII, Fig. 2). The sirup is then strained and poured into the log containing the *baltse* bark. The log is left uncovered (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3) and the contents allowed to ferment, sometimes for not more than a single day. After the fermentation has gone far enough, parallel sticks are laid across the log and on these palm leaves are laid. The rain must in no way reach the contents of the log. A chant is made before the open log during the process of the fermentation (No. 17).

A few hours before the rite is to begin in which the *baltse* is to be offered to the gods, a bit of *copal* is burned in a piece of bark directly in front of the log. Five grains of corn are heated in the fire of the burning *copal*, and a prayer is made (No. 18), asking the gods to free the *baltse* from the evil effects, as regards health and comfort, produced by drinking it.

Preceding the opening of the rite, there is also prepared, on a flat and thin board (*batatse*) (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1) with a handle on one side, what I have called nodules of *copal* (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 3). In one case there were eighty of these arranged in ten parallel rows of eight each. They are of two forms as representing the two sexes, and they are offered in place of men and women in order to carry out the demands of the rites. Those representing men are bidden to go out into the forests and procure game for the gods, and those representing women are supposed to grind the corn and make the different offerings presented to the gods. These nodules are made first in the form of a truncated cone by the aid of paddles of wood. Those male in sex are fashioned by placing a small ball of *copal* in the center of the flattened top of the

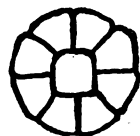


FIG. 35.

Top of male  
nodule of *copal*.

cone and then completely surrounding this with eight other small and round bits of *copal* (Figs. 35 and 36). The female nodules (Fig. 37) are made by placing three flattened round disks of the gum, one on top of the other, on the flattened top of the nodule. The significance of these sexual characteristics is not clear. Five of the ten rows on the board are male in sex and five female. They are arranged alternately.

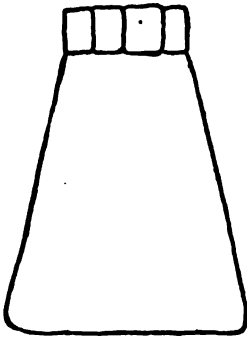


FIG. 36.

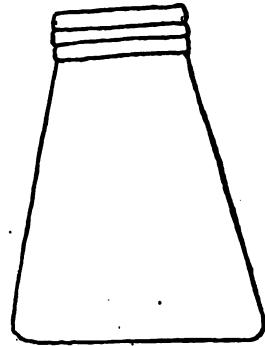


FIG. 37.

*Copal* nodules used by the Lacandones.

Plate XXIII, Figs. 2 and 3, shows balls of *copal* found in Yucatan and with little doubt a remnant of the former culture of the



FIG. 38.

Dres. 11, b.

Mayas. They are painted with a greenish blue color. In the general shape and size and in the arrangement of the bits of gum incrusting the top, there is a striking similarity to the male nodule (Fig. 36) offered at the present time to the gods of the Lacandones.

Large masses of the gum in low bowls have been found in connection with archæological work in Yucatan. On the top of many of these offerings of incense the gum is

arranged in the same checkered fashion as on the smaller nodules.<sup>1</sup>

In front of several of the nodules of *copal*, as arranged on the flat board, there is placed a crude resemblance to a human figure made of the gum of the wild rubber tree. There seems to be no general plan of the position of the nodules before which the figures are placed, nor is there any distinction in the figures themselves as to sex. Rubber in a crude form is a frequent offering of the Lacandones.<sup>2</sup> It is often mixed with the *copal* and both placed in a rough mass in the incense-burners. Balls of rubber are often found embedded in the ancient masses of *copal* found in excavations, so that here again we find survivals of ancient materials and forms.



FIG. 39.

Tro-Cort. 102, b.



FIG. 40.

Tro-Cort. 62, a.

The *copal* nodules arranged on the board are called *sti*, a gift.<sup>3</sup> This is the same name given to the *braseritos* which are made at the same time as the new *braseros* and form a part of the renewal rite. Both are designated as to sex, and both are used in the light of servants to aid the gods in carrying out the demands made upon them by the giver of the feast.

As soon as the nodules have been made and arranged as described on the board, a small piece of *copal*, resting on a bit of bark, is burned and waved in the air over the nodules. This is to purify them and cause them to assume consciousness as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fig. 38, from the Dresden Codex, which may show these bowls of copal.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fig. 39, from the Tro-Cortesianus, which may show a skirted figure gathering the sap from a rubber tree.

<sup>3</sup> The Spanish word *gente*, people, is given both to the nodules and to the *braseritos*.

shown by the chant (No. 19). The board is then put aside to be used later in the celebration of the rite.

The jar described as facing the line of *ollas* and resting on the carpet of leaves (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2) is filled with *baltse* contained in the hollow log.<sup>1</sup> A loosely woven cloth is used as a strainer to keep the liquid free of pieces of the *baltse* bark.

Vessels made of the shell of a kind of squash and filled with an offering of *buliwa* are next brought in and placed in front of the line of *braseros*.<sup>2</sup>

*Buliwa*<sup>3</sup> is a square and flat *tamale* made of corn and *frejoles* and folded in a palm leaf. These form one of the common offerings to the gods.

At this time there is also brought in from the adjoining shelter a single *jicara* containing a paste made of ground cocoa berries. The board of nodules finds a place in the middle resting on two of the dishes containing *buliwa* (as in the rite shown in *f*, Fig. 33). The handle points to the south and it is tied by a palm leaf to the other leaves on which the *braseros* and the offerings rest. When the board is to be used, it is carefully untied. At the north and south side of the board of nodules there is an ear of corn. This is to guard the *copal* from the evil spirits who might otherwise come and carry away some of the nodules.

After these preparations have been completed, the wife of the leader<sup>4</sup> enters the sacred hut with a wooden beater used in beating the native *chocolaté* to a froth. The gourd containing the ground cocoa is handed her together with a single *jicara* of *posol* which has been brought in. With the beater she makes a thick foam of the *posol* and cocoa, a part of which she places in each of the *jicaras* gathered around the jar (*g*, Fig. 33), as her husband fills them with the *baltse* contained in the jar.

<sup>1</sup> Figure 40, p. 127, may show one of these jars.

<sup>2</sup> The number of *ollas* of *buliwa* and meat varies. There is usually no more than one vessel of each for each of the *braseros*.

<sup>3</sup> More correctly it is written *buuliwa* from *buul*, *frejole*, *wa*, *tortilla*.

<sup>4</sup> If, as in many cases, there is more than one wife, it is the oldest who officiates.

A gourd thus filled with the ceremonial drink and the foaming cocoa is placed in front of each of the *braseros* to the accompaniment of a chant (No. 20).

This act exhausts the contents of the jar, which is again filled from the hollow log. The wife beats up more cocoa, which she places on the top of a second set of *jicaras* as they are filled with *baltše*. These are placed in front of the line of incense-burners between them and the vessels containing the *buliwa*. A third *jicara* containing *baltše* and the preparation of cocoa is immediately given to each of the *braseros*, and the same chant is repeated as at the placing of the first and second set of gourds.

Strips of bark pounded out thin over a log by means of a grooved stick are a frequent offering to the gods (Pl. XIX, Fig. 4). The bark is cut about an inch wide and soaked in a mixture of water and the wood of the *Palo mulatto* (*tšakaš*). This gives a pinkish color to the strips. Several pieces of the bark, cut about three feet long, are tied around the rims of the *braseros*, and a chant describing the act is given (No. 21). Each of the strips seems to be placed in behalf of some one in the encampment. A piece of the bark is also tied around the drum and another around the neck of the jar containing *baltše* (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2).

Up to this time the gourds containing the ceremonial drink have simply been placed in front of the line of *braseros*. The contents are now administered to the heads on the incense-burners. The leader does this with a roll or cigarette made of palm leaves, by dipping it into each of the gourds, after which he places it on the lower lip of the *brasero*. He chants (No. 22) during this operation.

He then takes an empty *jicara* and partially fills it by dipping the roll of leaves into all the gourds of *baltše* in front of the *braseros*. With the gourd thus filled, he goes to the east of the sacred hut and spatters the contents from the end of the roll of leaves into the air in the several directions where the gods are thought to live. This is done in quite the same manner and

for the same purpose as the *posol* is thrown in the air in the rite of the morning. The chant is also about the same (No. 23).

The *braseros* remaining on the shelf and the drum are also fed from the *jicara* containing a few drops from the *baltse* in each of the gourds in front of the incense-burners.

To each man and boy who occupy seats around the leader, a gourd of *baltse* is given from those around the jar. The leader addresses (No. 24) each person as he stands over him with a vessel of the liquid. The recipient answers him with a set formula (No. 25). To the members of his family the leader uses slightly different words (No. 26). The latter then takes his seat behind the jar of *baltse* (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1), and his chief assistant arises and takes another *jicara* from those around the jar. This he places in the hands of the leader as he utters the same sentence as the other had given (No. 26) before the members of his family.

Every one holds his gourd in both hands until the leader, by dipping his fingers in the *jicara* given him, spatters a small particle of the *baltse* in the several directions. There is a short prayer (No. 27) made at the time. After he has done this, the others follow his example, and all drink the contents of their *jicaras*.

The women of the encampment together with those who have come from the neighboring settlements now enter the inclosure and take their places at the northern or southern sides of the sacred hut. The leader gives to each one a *jicara* of *baltse* filled directly from the jar, after having taken a sip from each one. He chants (No. 24) as he has done before the men. The women retire soon after with their gifts.

By this time the jar is empty and it is refilled again from the log. From the gourds around the jar the *braseros* are administered *baltse*, after which the leader blows the shell trumpet at the east of the hut.

The vessels containing the *bultwa* are held up, two at a time, by the leader,<sup>1</sup> and offered to the gods in a chant (No. 28),

<sup>1</sup> In one of the rites witnessed a single small gourd containing meat was brought in at this time, and from this a small particle of meat was placed by

which differs greatly from those previously given in the mode of its delivery. It is given much more slowly and there is more rhythm. The words and syllables are joined together, and others seem to be added to fill out the measure. It is very difficult to give a satisfactory translation of this slow chant.

The three *jicaras* of *baltse* in front of each of the *braseros* have, up to this time, remained untouched. They are now held up, two at a time, and offered to the gods. A chant, as usual, accompanies this act (No. 29).

The board on which the nodules are arranged is now taken up by the assistant and pointed toward every one present. He repeats at the same time a short formula (No. 30). He then takes the board to the east of the hut (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 3), where, holding it by the handle, he extends it at arm's length to the east and also to the south, the west, and the north. At certain intervals he runs and faces the *braseros* in the hut as he utters a spirited chant (No. 31).<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 42.

Tro-Cort. 101, c.



FIG. 41.

Tro-Cort. 81, b.

the head with the palms of his hands. The leader often sits at this time at the northwest corner of the hut, singing softly to the accompaniment of the ceremonial rattle, which he shakes<sup>2</sup>

the leader on the mouth of each of the *braseros*. The chant was the same as when all the dishes of meat were brought in (No. 34). After the incense-burners had been administered to, a portion of the meat was thrown in the air at the east of the hut, followed by an offering to the *braseros* on the shelf and to the drum.

<sup>1</sup> Figures 41 and 42 may represent the boards of nodules, although this is not at all certain. The knotted design in Fig. 42 is found upon some ancient shallow bowls in which remains of *copal* were found.

<sup>2</sup> This is not an essential part of the rite. It is one of the ways in which the leader shows his religious fervor.



(Fig. 19, p. 75). The decoration on the rattle is made of holes and lines of black and red paint. There is no set song or chant used with it at this time.

While the assistant is at the east of the hut with the board of *copal*, a second helper administers a potion of *baltse* to all the men present from a single *jicara* containing a small quantity from each of the gourds around the jar. The assistant then returns to the hut with the board of nodules. In the same manner as at the east of the hut, he points the board at each man present and utters the same formula (No. 31). After he has pointed it, furthermore, in the several directions in the air, he stands before the line of *braseros* and the rows of offerings and chants (No. 32). The prayer is slow and dignified and is the same in character as that given when the vessels of *bullwa* are offered.

During the preceding chant, a second potion from the single gourd of *baltse* is given to the leader and the other male participants in the rite.

At the conclusion of the slow chant with the *copal* nodules, the *braseros* are again administered *baltse* from that contained in the *jicaras* around the jar. The chant (No. 22) is the same as at the previous occasions when *baltse* was placed on the lips of the incense-burners. A *jicara* is also taken to the east, where some of the contents is spattered in the several directions in which the gods live. The head on the drum and the *braseros* on the shelf are also finally fed.

The leader then takes the board of *copal* and goes to the western side of the line of *braseros*. With a stick moistened in *baltse*, he removes from the board one by one the nodules of the gum and distributes them in the bowls of the incense-burners. He places some in the center of each *olla*, after holding each one for a moment before the mouth of the figure on the bowl in which it is to rest. Much partiality is shown in this distribution. The *braseros* of the most important of the gods receive five or six of the nodules, whereas those of some of the less important deities receive only one or two. A chant (No. 33) is given during this operation.

The leader now brings from the adjoining hut, where all the offerings are prepared, dishes or *ollas* filled with the roasted meat of a monkey (Pl. XXV, Fig. 1), placing them at first in front of the *ollas* of *buitwa*. Afterwards he holds up each dish in turn as he chants (No. 34).

After the large dishes of meat have thus been placed before the *braseros*, the jar is again filled from the reservoir of *baltse* in the hollow log and brought back to its place. At each refilling of the jar there must be a consecration of its contents to the gods before any can be distributed among those present. So it follows that an administration of this new *baltse* must be made (Chant No. 22). This time some of the foamed cocoa is added to the *jicaras* as they are filled with *baltse*. Some of the contents of every new jar of the liquid must also be spattered at the east of the hut, as well as offered to the drum and the *braseros* on the shelf.<sup>1</sup>

After the *baltse* in the jar has thus been consecrated by an offering to the sacred *ollas*, a libation to the east, to the *braseros* on the shelf, and to the drum, *jicaras* are filled and distributed by the leader to all those present. As each person receives his gourd a short prayer is said as before (No. 24). The leader is given his *baltse* by the assistant, and it is the latter who spatters a particle with his fingers toward the several points of the compass where the gods are supposed to reside.

After a considerable period of drinking, in which many of the gourds are refilled from the jar, new fire is kindled by the leader and his assistant working together (Pl. XXV, Fig. 2). This is done by the simple "two-stick" method, the wooden drill twisted between the palms and revolving in the notch of a horizontal stick of softer wood. The lower stick or "hearth" has

<sup>1</sup> At this point the assistant sometimes fills a *jicara* with the liquid from the jar and, with a smaller one, he dips out a little and administers it to the leader, saying at the same time a few words (No. 35), which are answered. The giver of the feast then takes the gourd of *baltse* together with the smaller one and repeats the act with all those present. This rite is only another way of consecrating the *baltse* in the jar by taking a part for the whole. This takes the place of offering it to the gods on the end of the roll of leaves.

no gutter running from the notch to the edge, as is often the case in this form of fire-drill. By friction the tinder, placed beneath the horizontal stick, is heated and finally kindled. Among the Lacandones the tinder consists of shavings of log-wood resting in a corn husk. As soon as the fire is kindled, it is handed to the wife, who enters at this time and whose duty it is to light, by means of it, the wood already prepared. This whole ceremony of making new fire finds an interesting parallel in several of the rites mentioned by Landa. Burning of *copal* and the offering of food are also the common features in the early ceremonies of the Mayas.<sup>1</sup>

During the operation of making the new fire, the leader hands to his assistant two palm leaves and to every other man and boy present a single leaf. In the camp fire kindled by the wife, the leader then lights two pine sticks and with these he sets fire to the nodules of *copal* in the incense-burners. During this operation every one turns his back to the altar where it is being done. The bands of colored bark are taken from around the rim of the sacred *ollas* and placed in the palm leaves behind during the burning of the *copal*.

The leader, closely followed by the assistant and then by all the others, goes behind and to the western side of the row of *braseros*. Holding the palm leaves in the smoke of the incense, they all chant (No.13) as at a similar time during the offering of *posol*. The assistant administers a potion of *baltse* in a small *jicara* to the men and boys as they are thus engaged. After the fires have begun to die out in the *braseros*, each leaves the inclosure and goes to the domestic hut, where the rite over the family is carried out as described before (p. 121).

After the more personal rite has been performed over the

<sup>1</sup> Landa, 1864, Chap. XL, p. 300: "Y abaxo en el patio tendian todos cada uno sus idolos sobre hojas de arboles que para ello avia, y sacada lumbre nueva, començavan a quemar en muchas partes de su encienso, y a hazer ofrendas de comidas guisadas."

Also *ibid.*, Chap. XL, p. 280: "Començavan todos sus oraciones devotas y los chaces sacavan lumbre nueva; quemavan el encienso al demonio y el sacerdote començava a echar su encienso en el brasero."

members of the families of the participants, the men return to the sacred hut, and the low shallow vessels containing the meat are offered to the gods by the leader. He stands facing the *braseros* as he recites a chant (No. 36), which in character is the same as that offered when the board of nodules is presented to the gods. It is slow, dignified, and measured, and there seems to be even a greater disregard for grammatical structure than in the ordinary chants. It is impossible to obtain equivalents for many of the words. They are probably terms whose meaning has long been lost.

The different offerings still remain to be administered (p. 121). The leader places a particle of the meat and a pinch from the middle (*qubuliwa*) of some of the *tamales* on the lip or mouth of each of the clay heads on the *braseros*, paying, as usual, special attention to the *ollas* of the most important of the gods by giving them the offering several times. Taking a small particle of corn from the middle of two or three of the *buliwa* in each dish seems to consecrate all the contents of the vessels. The leader recites a chant (No. 37) throughout this whole rite.

At the conclusion of giving the offering to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods, the leader takes a particle from one of the *tamales* and a small portion of meat and gives this part of the offering to the *brasero* of *Usukun* at the east of the sacred hut. The leader next throws a minute portion of the combination of the meat and the *buliwa* into the air at the east of the inclosure. The other points of the compass also receive an offering. The chant (No. 38) is the same as that given when the *baltše* is thrown into the air at the east of the house.

The heads on the sacred *ollas* are still again and for the last time fed with the *baltše* from the end of the palm leaves. The chant (No. 22) is the same as before. A *jicara* of the liquid is given to each of the men present. Each is invited to drink (No. 24) by the leader, and they all spatter a portion of the *baltše* as an offering to the gods before they drink any.

After the gourds given to the participants are emptied, they are refilled by the leader from the jar in front of him. No

order seems now to be observed in the drinking. Some drink *jicara* after *jicara* almost without stopping. Every one, with the exception of a few of the women, seems to think it his duty to become intoxicated.<sup>1</sup> The younger boys are no exception to the rule. Many are naturally sick, but this seems only to be a reason for drinking more. There is no disorder as might be expected. Every one goes about it in a most solemn manner as a religious duty to perform. Those intoxicated sing and

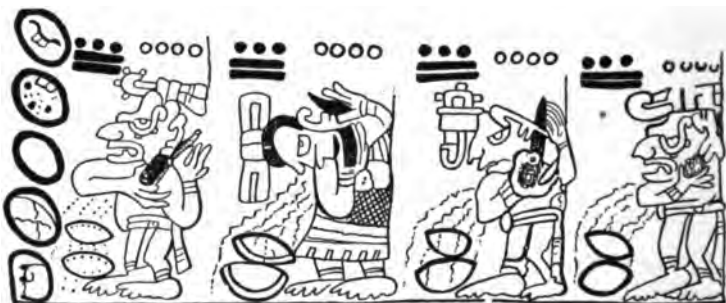


FIG. 43.

Tro-Cort. 95, a.

dance a little, but there is no quarreling. This is explained by the fact that the gods are said to dislike anything of the sort.

At this time, when in a state of intoxication and as an act especially pleasing to the gods, the ear is sometimes pierced with a stone arrow point and the blood allowed to drip down upon the *braseros* containing the idols. This custom seems to be dying out, as it is only the oldest men who carry it out. It was a common practice among both the early Nahuas and Mayas to draw blood from various parts of the body, but more especially from the ear.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXVII, p. 226: "Se juntavan a hazer sacrificios y offrendas al demonio, y a hazer una solemne borachera todos; ca era fiesta general y obligatoria."

Also *ibid.*, Chap. XI, p. 266: "Alla tenian gran fiesta, y en ello se emborachavan los señores y sacerdotes, y las principales."

Margil, 1696, refers to the compulsory drunkenness.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XXXVIII, p. 232: "Despues de hecho toda braza, la allanavan y tendian muy tendida y juntos los que avian bailado, avia algunos

In addition to the obligatory drunkenness and the piercing of the ear, there is another act sometimes performed by the Lacandones of the present time and clearly a survival. If the natives are in a state of sufficient zeal and ecstasy, they place their bodies over the burning *copal* as they offer up their chants to the gods.<sup>1</sup>

After the drinking has kept up for some time, the acts of the ceremony are again taken up. The shallow dishes of *buliwa* and the *ollas* of meat are now distributed among the men and boys present. There is a short formula (No. 39) given at the time. The leader now exchanges a *tamale* from those in front of him with every other person, and the others do the same with each other so that every man has a *tamale* from the dish of every other person. The meat is not divided in this way.



FIG. 44.  
Tro-Cort. 109, a.

que se ponían a pasar descalços y desnudos como ellos andavan por encima de aquella braza de una parte a otra y passavan algunos sin lesion, otros abraçados, y otros medio quemados, y en esto creian estava el remedio de sus miserias y malos agueros, y pensavan era este su servicio muy agradable a sus dioses."

Also *ibid.*, Chap. XXVIII, p. 160: "Que hazian sacrificios con propia sangre unas vezes, cortandose las (orejas) a la reconda por pedaços y alli los dexavan en senal."

*Ibid.*, Chap. XXXV, p. 214: "Otros derramavan sangre, cortandose las orejas, y untando con ella una piedra que alli tenian de un demonio Kanal-Acantun."

*Ibid.*, Chap. XL, p. 308: "metian consque se sajar o sacar sangre de las orejas."  
Cf. Aguilar, 1639, p. 81.

Mrs. Nuttall, 1904, treats the subject of blood offering in Mexico exhaustively. She gives a group of figures from the Maya Codex, Tro-Cortesianus (p. 95), which I reproduce (Fig. 43). There are three men and one woman in the act of piercing the ear with a stone knife and allowing the blood to stream down into what seem to be bowls. Mrs. Nuttall calls to mind the fact that Landa states that the women did not make blood offering, and yet here we find one pictured as carrying out this act of devotion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Relacion de Valladolid," 1900, Vol. XIII, p. 27: "Y por todas cuatro partes del fuego hacia sus cirimonias y rociaba con el las brasas, y luego mandaba le quitasen los alpargatas y entraba por encima de la braza rociando, y tras el toda la procesion de yndios, y pasaba este *alquin* sin se hacer mal alguno."

Figure 44 indicates drunkenness according to Förstemann (1902, p. 149).

Before eating any of the offering, the contents of each vessel is further consecrated by throwing a particle of the meat and of the *buliwa* into the air to the four cardinal points to the accompaniment of a short prayer (No. 40).

After this, the wives and children join the men in the sacred hut and a general feasting begins.<sup>1</sup>

If any *baltse* still remains in the hollow log, it must be consumed before the rite is declared ended. In such a case the jar is refilled and from this *jicara* after *jicara* is filled and given to the participants. This is carried out until there is no more *baltse* remaining in the log, the jar, or the *jicaras*. The rite then ends.

The bands of fiber bark which have been replaced around the edge of the *braseros* after the *copal* had burned out remain in the same position during the night. In the morning they are taken off by the leader and tied around the foreheads of the participants of the rite (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1). These are worn for the remainder of the day.

This rite of offering *baltse*, *buliwa*, meat, and the bark fillets is a very common one among the Lacandones. It is celebrated not only in behalf of the old incense-burners which are about to be superseded, but it is also undertaken before the new *braseros* and at frequent intervals throughout the year. There are many variations in minor details, but there is a general order to the succession of the different acts.

On the day when the new incense-burners are completed there is an offering of *posol* made to the old *braseros* both in the morning and again in the afternoon. The rite does not differ from that described (p. 118) as taking place daily during the manufacture of the new *ollas*. The chants (No. 41) alone differ slightly.

Towards evening of this last day the new *braseros* and the smaller *ollas* or *braseritos* used in carrying out the rite of installation are brought into the sacred hut from the shelter in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XL, p. 280 : "Despues deste saumerio comian entre todos las dones y presentes y andava el vino, haste que se hazian unas unas."

the fields where they have been made.<sup>1</sup> There is a *brasero* to replace each of those which are supposed to die at this time.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no fixed rule concerning the number of *braseros*<sup>3</sup> to be made and used in the rite. This seems to depend on the time at the disposal of those who give the feast, upon their inclination in the matter as regards the necessity of propitiating the gods, and on the state of the harvest.

The old *braseros* are filled to overflowing with the remains of the *copal* burned in all the previous rites of the year.<sup>4</sup>



FIG. 46.

Tro-Cort. 96, c.

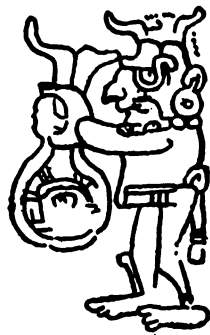


FIG. 45.

Tro-Cort. 61, b.

All vestiges of the colors of the former decoration have long since vanished, and they appear as blackened masses of burned pitch (Pl. XX, Fig. 3) which almost covers the formerly well-defined head on the edge of the bowl. All this *copal* ash is carefully removed and the stone idol resting on the bottom is extracted. This is all done to the accompaniment of a chant (No. 42). These idols are regarded with the greatest possible reverence, and as

<sup>1</sup> Figure 45 may show the bringing in of the new *braseros* wrapped up in palm leaves.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the two renewal ceremonies witnessed, in addition to the seven large *braseros* made to replace the seven of the encampment, there were two others representing **Aqantšob** and **Yumkanasabak**. Thus these two gods had two sets of *braseros* consecrated in the rite, one set belonging to those of the encampment where the ceremony was being carried out and the other to the *braseros* of another settlement. It was in this second camp that the nephew resided, the son of the oldest brother who was dead, and the two extra *braseros* were for him, as in this latter settlement there was no renewal rite performed that year. Two of the old *braseros* with their idols, representing **Aqantšob** and **Yumkanasabak**, had been brought over to the former camp and here the incense-burners had been renewed and consecrated in the rites.

<sup>3</sup> For the number of *braseros* made in the ceremonies witnessed, see p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Figure 46 may show the incense-burner containing the idol, which is completely covered with the remains of the *copal*. In this case the head of God *C*, according to Förstemann's designation, would possibly be the idol, and the scroll figure on the upper part of the bowl would stand for the face on the *brasero*.



they are taken out they are laid on palm leaves. It is at this time that the old *braseros* are given a last offering of *posol*, each from a separate shell of the cocoa bean. These old incense-burners are then placed in a group at the western side of the hut with their heads facing the west (*n*, Fig. 33, p. 112) and a shell of the cocoa bean over each one. Thus they die, and each is superseded by a new *olla*.



FIG. 47.  
Tro-Cort. 65, a.

The stone idols remain resting on the leaves all night. Early the next morning an offering of *baltse* is made to the new *braseros*, which have been placed in the position formerly occupied by the old incense-bowls (*a*, Fig. 33) and with the heads facing the east. The *braseritos* are arranged in lines in front of

the row of the large incense-burners. The heads of those in the smaller class also face the east (*b, b, b*, Fig. 33, and Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). As the assistant places the offering of *baltse* on the mouth of the *brasero*, the leader deposits the stone idol of the respective incense-burners in the bowl and it is immediately covered with *copal* (Chant No. 43). The regular rite of offering *baltse*, meat, *buliwa*, and fillets of bark is then undertaken in the same way as described (pp. 123-138).<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 48.  
Tro-Cort. 97, a.

The board of nodules is prepared and distributed among the *braseritos* as well as among the larger *ollas*. Each of the

<sup>1</sup> Figure 47 may represent the offering of meat and Fig. 48 of corn to the new incense-burners. The shelter is clearly shown in Fig. 48.

smaller incense-burners also receives a part of every offering. The *braseros* naturally have most of the attention in the rites. They each receive sometimes as many as seven or eight of the nodules of *copal*, whereas the *braseritos* do not obtain more than one or two.

The chants in each case, as has been explained, designate whether the inferior god represented by the *braserito* is to give the offering directly to the main god whose servant he is and for the use of the god in question (*atŋŋŋ*), or for this main god to restore the offering in turn to *Nohotšakyum*.

In addition to the usual offerings made at this time, there is a gift of *achiote*. The berry is ground and mixed with water, making a vivid red paint. A small gourd containing this mixture is brought in and placed in front of the rows of incense-burners directly after the nodules of *copal* have been taken from the board and distributed in the bowls of the several *ollas*. After the *copal* is lighted, the leader places a spot of the *achiote* with his fingers on the chin of each of the *braseros* and *braseritos* and a similar spot on the forehead of each. The head on the drum, the *ollas* on the shelf, and that of *Usukun* at the east of the hut are treated in the same way. The two round circles on the logs containing the *baltŋ* are renewed with the paint, as are also the circles on the two western supports of the house. The red lines on the rattle and on the ceremonial oboe are repainted. The leader then has a spot of red painted on his forehead and another on his chin similar to those placed on the heads of the sacred *ollas*. Two lines are also painted around the wrists and ankles of the leader. His *poncho* is dotted over with the *achiote* (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1) in addition to the other decoration. Finally all the other men, followed by the women, have their faces marked in the same way as that of the leader, and their *ponchos* are spotted with the red. The leader alone has the lines around the arm and leg. There is no chant accompanying this operation of painting.

On the day following the substitution of the new *ollas*, they

are given an offering of *posol* similar in all respects excepting the chant (No. 44) to the previous daily rites when *posol* is offered to the old *braseros* (p. 118).

On the third day in the life of the new incense-burners, a rite differing in some part from that performed on the first day (p. 138) is undertaken. Owing to a few details which are new, it may be well to review briefly the different acts in the rite performed on this day.

**Baltse** is made in advance and purified by burning incense and heating the grains of corn beside the log.

Early in the morning of this third day, earthen dishes containing *tamales* made simply of corn (**norwa**) are placed in front of the lines of incense-burners, both large and small.

The jar is filled with **baltse** and from this thirteen *jicaras* are filled and placed on the altar of leaves (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1). The leader in his chant designates which *jicara* shall go in front of each *braseiro* and whether it is for the god himself or to be carried by him to **Nohotsakyum**. The shell trumpet is then blown and the jar refilled.

Six more gourds are furnished with **baltse** and, with a rolled leaf, a particle is taken from each of the *jicaras* and placed in a single gourd from which all the incense-burners are fed. The chant is the same as at the previous rite (No. 44), with the exception of the words addressed to each of the *braseritos* (No. 45). The *olla* of **Usukun** at the east of the hut and those of the gods not taking part in the ceremony on the shelf are also given an offering of the ceremonial drink.

The nodules of *copal* prepared in advance are sprinkled with the **baltse**, and an offering of the drink is held up to the head represented by a few red lines on the ceremonial jar. A short formula is said at this time (No. 46).

The *jicaras* around the jar are distributed to those present, who chant (No. 27) and spatter a small portion of the contents before drinking.

The first of the tobacco of the year is used in making an offering of cigars. Each is lighted in the new fire, held for a

moment in front of the mouth of one of the sacred *ollas*<sup>1</sup> (Chant No. 47), and finally leaned up against the head of the incense-burner to which it has been offered (Pl. XXI, Fig. 1). Every product of the field must thus first be offered to the gods before it can be serviceable for common use.

The *braseros* and *braseritos* are again administered *baltse*, after which the leader sprinkles the lines of *ollas* with the liquid. A short chant is made at the same time (No. 23).

Each man present is now given a second *jicara* of *baltse* from those around the jar, for his own consumption.

A slow chant (No. 29) is repeated as the heads of the incense-burners are fed still again, and the *jicaras* around the jar are distributed a third time to the participants in the rite. The *ollas* are fed again from new gourds filled with *baltse* from the jar.

*Jicaras* of *posol* are next brought in and offered to the gods. The leader and his eldest son do this at the same time, each holding a gourd in each hand (Chant No. 68). The *tamales* of corn and the *posol* offered at this time are made from the first corn of the year.



FIG. 49.

Tro-Cort. 88, b.

A potion of *baltse* from the gourds around the jar is given to the *braseros* and *braseritos*. The first set of *jicaras* placed on the altar of leaves still remain untouched. The *brasero* of *Usukun* and those on the shelf are not neglected in this repeated offering of *baltse* from the jar.

The leader, sitting behind the jar, repeats a slow chant (No. 29) as he dips the cigarette of leaves in the several *jicaras* around the jar. With this roll he administers the liquid to the heads on the sacred *ollas*.

A single gourd of *baltse* under which are two palm leaves

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fig. 49, where a god is sitting upon the sign of the earth (*caban*) and smoking.

crossed at right angles is placed in the hands of the leader. He chants (No. 27) as the assistant spatters part of the contents with his fingers, and drinks.

The board of nodules is now offered at the east side of the hut as in previous rite. The bands of bark are taken from a large earthen *olla*, where they have been colored, and are hung in front of the rows of sacred vessels.

The board is next offered to the *braseros* inside the hut after being pointed to every one present. The chant is the same as before (No. 32). The bands of colored bark are now placed around the rims of the incense-burners. Each of the *braseros* has at least one of the fillets, and the *braseritos* have the bands stretching across their heads, one strip serving for three or four of the smaller class of *ollas*. A band is tied around the drum, and the *brasero* of *Usukun* also receives a fillet.

The nodules of *copal* are next distributed in the bowls of the incense-burners (Chant No. 33). The offerings of *baltse* are repeated until there is none remaining in the jar or in the hollow log.

Palm leaves are now given to each one present, and a new fire is made with which to light the *copal* in the incense-burners. During the burning of the incense, the bands of bark are laid at one side.

At the same time as the *copal* is being lighted, the different *ollas* are being painted, with the *achiote*, together with the drum and the rattle. The leader and the others present are also painted in the same way as in a previous rite (p. 141).

The one who gives the feast closely followed by the other men, and the boys old enough, now approach the blazing *ollas* and hold their leaves in the smoke as they recite a prayer (No. 13).

Seven earthen dishes of cooked *frejoles* are now brought in and placed in front of the other offerings before the incense-burners. This is done without chanting. The gift is then offered by holding each dish up and making a prayer (No. 49). The corn *tamales* which were brought in at the very beginning

of the rite are also offered to the gods with the same chant. The *frejoles* as well as the corn of the *tamales* are the first of the season. This whole renewal ceremony might well be called an offering of the first fruits, as it is always held at the time of year when the tobacco, corn, and *frejoles* are beginning to ripen.

The *tamales* and the *frejoles*, after being placed and offered, are next ready to be administered to the different *braseros* and *braseritos* in behalf respectively of the gods and the lesser spirits whom they represent. A small particle is taken from one or two *tamales* in each dish and a few beans from each vessel. The joint offering is then placed on the mouth of each of the incense-burners (Chant No. 50).

The first set of *jicaras* of *baltse* remaining before the sacred *ollas*, together with the dishes of *tamales* and *frejoles*, are now distributed among the men present. Each exchanges a portion of the contents of each dish with each of the others, and, after the usual consecration of a portion to the gods, a general feasting begins.

The bands of bark and the cigars remain before the sacred *ollas* until morning, when they are distributed. The men wear the fillets and smoke the cigars (Fig. 49).

On the fourth day in the life of the new *braseros*, an offering of *posol* is made. Into each *jicara* of the drink as it is being made there is added a ball of corn, ground and roasted. Such an offering is called *sákha*. The rite differs in no way from the regular *posol* ceremony previously described (p. 118).

On the fifth day, *posol* of the usual kind is offered to the gods. Cocoa berries are ground, and a part of the ground cocoa is added to each *jicara* of the *posol* and the whole frothed by the wooden beater.

The sixth day is marked by an offering of *posol* with the balls of roasted corn, the same kind of gift as is given on the fourth day.

On the seventh and final day of the ceremony of consecrating the new incense-burners, the offering of *posol* and cocoa is made in the exact order as in all the other rites in which *posol* is given

to the gods. At the conclusion of the act, when the *jicaras* of *posol* have been distributed to those present, the leader stands behind the assistant and each of the others and repeats a formula (No. 15). The assistant then says the same words behind the leader. This simple act is really the end of the ceremony.

Nothing more remains to be done but to place the incense-burners in the places on the shelf formerly occupied by the old *braseros* when there was no rite in progress. The seven new and freshly painted *ollas* are, accordingly, deposited on the shelf in two rows. The *braseritos* are placed on a shelf at the northwest corner of the hut until there is opportunity to carry them and deposit them in their final resting-place together with the old and dead *braseros*. Great care is observed in placing the *ollas* on the shelves. The heads of the bowls are never for an instant turned in any other direction than toward the east. The *olla* with the projecting arm is wrapped in a banana leaf and tied with a band of the colored bark. All the palm leaves on which the incense-burners rest during the progress of the rites are gathered up into a pile with the stems pointing toward the south. The ground on which the seven *ollas* of the main gods have rested is swept with the utmost care, and every particle of *copal* ash fallen on the leaves is collected and made into a bundle. The leaves and sweepings are carried and deposited on a pile (*tšak*) at the north of the sacred hut containing all the refuse from the ceremonies for years past.<sup>1</sup>

On the day following the last offering of the consecration rites, the old and dead incense-burners of the previous year, which for the past seven days have remained undisturbed at the western side of the hut, are carefully placed in carrying nets, together with the *olla* with the projecting arm, and the earthen drum, which is also considered to be dead. The men then take these nets, with their contents, on their backs (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2) and go to a cliff a short distance to the west of the encampment. Here they leave the dead *braseros* at the bot-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, Chap. XL, p. 278: "Varrian sus casas y la vasura y estos peltrechos viejos echavanno fuera del pueblo al muladar y nadie . . . tocava a ello."

tom of a large mass of rocks and place the *olla* with the projecting arm above the others on a higher part of the ledge. These incense-burners have ceased to be of service, and their places have been taken by the new *braseros* containing the stone idols taken from the former. Travelers who report finds of incense-vessels may well have happened to find these depositing places of the old and dead *ollas*, deprived of the idols they once had. There is no chanting when this final act is carried out.

The *braseritos* used in the consecration rite are taken in the same way to a place on the shore of Lake Petha, where they are also hidden under a cliff.<sup>1</sup>

With this act the ceremony is over and the men turn their attention to making the new fields for the next crop. The new *braseros* have been installed, and when they are not in use in any of the rites, they remain on the suspended shelf. There is no more occasion therefore for the men sleeping in the sacred hut as was necessary when the *braseros* and all the smaller *ollas* remained constantly, day and night, upon the altar of palm leaves.

It must not be supposed that, now that the installation of the new incense-burners with their idols has been completed and the old ones disposed of, there is an end for a time to the rites. The new *braseros* are used in the performance of ceremonies at very frequent intervals.

When any long journey is to be undertaken, the gods are first of all appealed to. A board of nodules of *copal* is made and purified as has been described (p. 125). This is offered in a slow chant (No. 32) to the gods, and the nodules are then distributed in the *braseros* of certain of the gods known to be well disposed toward the undertaking. This is ascertained by one of the acts of divination (p. 99). One of the men chants (No. 51) over the smoke of the burning *copal* as he waves the regular bundle of palm leaves. If the person who is to make

<sup>1</sup> Each settlement probably has a special place of its own where the dead *braseros* are deposited.



the journey is a woman, the man carries the leaves to the domestic hut, where the woman is waiting. He chants (No. 51) over her as he taps her feet with the leaves. In some instances a more elaborate rite is undertaken at this time. *Posol* is made and offered in addition to the gift of incense.

The simple burning of rough pieces of *copal* in the *braseros* may be undertaken in order to invigorate some leaves to be used in curing some simple ailment.

As has been stated (p. 81), the Lacandones are in the habit of making pilgrimages to the spots where they believe their gods to live. These journeys are not uncommon to the homes of gods whose dwellings are in the neighborhood of the encampment in question. The people living near Lake Petha are in the habit of visiting the shrine of the god *Ioananoqu*, who lives in an immense cliff on the shore of the lake. These trips are undertaken from a spirit of devotion to the god and a desire for protection from the evils of the spiritual world, which this god is able to grant. As will be seen from the nature of the chants used in the rites of the Lacandones, there is, in addition, the idea of thankfulness for past and present favors.

Inasmuch as one of these pilgrimages was witnessed, it may be well to describe it in detail. The start was made from the encampment about five in the morning. The father of the family led the way along the narrow trail. He carried most of the materials for making the sacrifice in a net on his back, suspended by a strap from the forehead. The eldest son came next with his bow and arrows. He had a burden in proportion to his years. He was followed by his two sisters, each of whom had loads of greater proportions than their ages warranted. The wife drew up in the rear. She had the youngest boy in her arms and another on her back in a net suspended by a strap across the forehead. After about two hours of walking, the side of the lake was reached. All embarked in one of the native canoes for the cliff where the god lived. This proved to be the rock which has been described as having on its face a painting of a double-headed serpent (Fig. 16, p. 68).

Close beside the figure on the cliff there is a large crevice in the face of the rock, said to be the entrance to the home of the god. It was in this cavelike formation that the sacrifices were made in honor of *Ioananoqu*. The greatest solemnity characterized the ceremony. The god was supposed actually to be present during the performance of the rite. The writer was not allowed to land from the canoe, nor were any of the family other than the father and the eldest son, who carried out the ceremony. As the water was very low in the lake, the canoe was some distance below the ledge of rocks serving as an altar. It could not be seen whether or not there were any *braseros* used in connection with the rite. There were certainly none carried from the encampment. It is quite probable that one or more of the *braseritos* were used in the rite as the conveyers of the offering to the god. The whole face of the rock was heavily smoked, showing that these pilgrimages were not uncommon.

The ceremony followed the same general lines as the others which have been described. The offering, owing to the distance and the difficulty of bringing anything liquid, consisted only of nodules of *copal* and *buliwa*.

The father held up the dishes containing the *tamales* of corn and *frejoles*, and gave the customary chant (No. 28). The nodules of *copal* were made on the spot and arranged on a board which was kept on the ledge for the purpose. This board of *copal* was held up and offered in the usual way, and the *copal* then distributed in two clusters on the rocky ledge. A particle from the middle of each *buliwa* was also placed on the ledge, after which the gum was lighted and the leaves held in the smoke. A prayer directed especially to *Ioananoqu* was made.<sup>1</sup>

After the leaves had been impregnated with the virtues of the god by holding them in the smoke of the incense burned to him, the father came down to the boat with the leaves and chanted in turn over each member of his family. He then returned to the cliff, where he prayed for a short time longer. After the father and son had eaten several of the *tamales* given

<sup>1</sup> I was unable to obtain the text of this chant.

to the god, they came down to the canoe, bringing the remainder of the offering. All then joined in eating the *buliwa*, which was the only thing they had brought to eat. The actual rite did not last longer than two hours, and the rest of the day was spent in hunting turtle eggs and fishing.

The daily thought and life of the Lacandones are centered around the religious element. An instance of this is seen in an incident witnessed by the writer. The father, the head of the encampment and the leader in the preceding rite, together with his family, was on his way to the neighboring settlement of the Indians. He was some distance in advance of the wife and children. As he stopped to wait for them, he gathered a palm leaf, pulled off the lowermost petal, and tore a shred lengthwise from the leaf. Rolling the leaf between the palms of his hands, he performed the divinatory rite described (p. 100) in order to receive an answer to questions which were troubling him. The chant used in this rite showed the cause of his anxiety to be his son, whom he feared would not live to grow up.

There is a ceremony observed just before a mother is delivered of a child. The father offers the usual offerings to the gods and prays for a safe delivery, for the recovery of the mother, and the life and growth of the child. He asks for the good health of the mother and child during the period of suckling (*utšukutšutš*), for freedom of fear for the child, and finally the power of walking.

## RELIGION OF THE MAYAS

THE surprise is not great at finding survivals of ancient beliefs as described by the early Spanish priests and historians among the Lacandones, who have been more free from outside influence than almost any other people of Mexico and Central America; but among the practically civilized Mayas of Yucatan, one is indeed amazed to find so much still remaining of the ancient religion under what at first appears to be a most rigid conformation to the beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church.

In the less populated districts one can find rites being celebrated similar in a great part to some of the ceremonies found among the Lacandones, but with the addition of a cross of wood set up before the offering to carry out the idea received from their Catholic teachers. The symbol of the cross seems to free the rite of any heretical character that it might possess from the standpoint of the Catholic clergy. Many of the early Spanish accounts speak of the first population of Yucatan as not being worshipers of idols, but as possessing religion not differing greatly from that introduced by the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup> This idea evidently is a result of the Spanish teaching.

There is one great cause for the success which crowned the efforts of the early Spanish missionaries in establishing a new form of worship in Yucatan. Instead of introducing an entirely new set of ideas and strange forms of devotion into the country, the old ideas were used as a foundation on which to build the new teaching. The rites native to the country were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Relación de Quizil y Sitipeche," 1900, Vol. XI, p. 215: "... Los primeros pobladores de chihinisa no fueron ydolatrás hasta que Rul Rau capitán mexicano entro en estas partes el qual enseñó la ydolatria o la nesesidad como ellos dizen los enseñó a ydolatrar—tubieron notizia de un criador de todas las cosas de la criazion del cielo y de la tierra y de la cayda de lusifer de la ynmortalidad del anyma y del çielo y del ynfierno y del delubio general."

changed until they agreed more or less faithfully with those of the new religion.

We may certainly question the accuracy of some of the early accounts of the missionaries concerning the speed with which the natives threw aside the religion of their race and adopted that of the Conquerors. The early priests without exception speak of the ease with which the natives were induced to discard their former religious ideas. It was probably not until the Mayas were greatly weakened by the continued attacks of the enemy and after years of submission to the superior force that the Catholic religion was in any way established in the country. In the accounts of the immense numbers of baptisms administered to the native race there can be placed little reliance, as undoubtedly there were a large number of "repeaters," as each new convert usually obtained from the hands of the king's missionaries certain gifts in the way of clothing.

In the cities and towns throughout Yucatan there are churches and cathedrals. In the smaller villages, the priests come but once a year to christen children, to hear confession, and to bless unions that have already taken place. In many of the smaller settlements in the interior, even the yearly visit is done away with, and the natives live without the slight restraining influence of the *padre*. Each hut has its *santo*, which usually consists of the picture of the Virgin Mary. Saint days are celebrated often with a grand carousal, which sometimes assumes grand proportions. At frequent intervals along every road and trail, crosses of wood have been erected. When travelers pass a new cross, they always deposit a stone or pebble at the base. The natives touch their hats when passing one of the crosses. Yucatan is thus virtually a Catholic country. Underneath this, however, there is much that is fundamentally native in their religious ideas.

Landa and the other early priests and historians give a large amount of material on the ceremonial life of the Mayas, the yearly festivals and those celebrated in the different months

of the Maya year, but, as in the case with the Lacandonese, it will be possible to take up only those forms of rites which seem to show some connection with those carried on at the present time. I shall also enter upon a discussion of the early ideas of the mythology of the Mayas found recorded in the early histories only in so far as they touch upon the beliefs of the present day.

With a knowledge of the most important of the rites of the Lacandonese, it will be interesting to take a survey of a few of the ceremonies now carried on in some of the less populated districts of the peninsula. These usually have no close connection with the affairs of the Church, although they are recognized by the priests and are not openly prohibited, inasmuch as these rites, as I have before noted, are freed from possessing any heretical character by having the symbol of the cross interwoven in their structure together with the names of several of the Catholic saints.

In order to understand the ceremonies, it will be well to know something of the cosmical conceptions of the Mayas of the present time. According to the information obtained from the Mayas in the vicinity of Valladolid, this world is now in the fourth period of its existence. In the first epoch there lived the *Saiyamwinkoob*, the Adjusters. These composed the primitive race of Yucatan. They were dwarfs and were the ones who built the ruins. This work was all done in darkness before there was any sun. As soon as the sun appeared, these people turned to stone. Their images are found to-day in many of the ruins (Pl. XXVIII). It was at this period that there was a road suspended in the sky, stretching from Tuloom and Coba to Chichen Itza and Uxmal. This pathway was called *kušansum* or *säbke* (white road). It was in the nature of a large rope (*sum*) supposed to be living (*kušan*) and in the middle flowed blood. It was by this rope that the food was sent to the ancient rulers who lived in the structures now in ruins. For some reason this rope was cut, the blood flowed out, and the rope vanished forever. This first epoch was separated

from the second by a flood called **Haiyoqokab** (water over the earth).

In the second period of the history of the earth there lived the "**Polob**," the Offenders. Again a flood destroyed the greater part of the world, after which the **Masehualli**, or Mayas of the present time, came into power. Still again there was a flood which gave way to the fourth period. In this last epoch, there is a mixture of all the previous peoples inhabiting Yucatan. This last flood was called "**hunyekil**," or "**bulkabal**" (the im-merging). The Catholic priests take advantage of this belief in the various epochs to teach that, in the last flood, all the spirits of the race were killed excepting three who escaped in a canoe, "*Dios yumbil*, *Dios mehenbil*, and *Dios Espirito Santo*," the Maya expression for the Trinity.

The **Masehualli**, or Mayas of the present time, state that their ancestors were among those who lived in the first period of the earth's history.

According to the natives of Yucatan, there are seven heavens above the earth, each of which has a hole in the center, one directly above the other. According to one idea, a giant *ceiba* (*yaštse*), growing in the exact center of the earth, rears its branches through the successive holes in the heavens until it reaches the seventh, where "*El Gran Dios*" of the Spaniards lives. It is by means of this tree<sup>1</sup> that the dead spirits ascend from one world to the other until they reach the topmost one, where they finally remain. Another explanation is that there is a ladder made of vines running from the earth up through the holes in the heavens to the seventh, and it is by this vine that the souls ascend.

Below the topmost plain occupied by the God introduced by

<sup>1</sup> The *ceiba* tree (*Bombox ceiba*) plays a great part in the mythology of the Mayas. One was supposed to have grown in Valladolid. It was cut down, but it grew again and had four branches, one for each of the cardinal points. A *cenote* was directly beneath the tree. A hawk lived in the topmost branch, the spirit of the tree. The bird's cry was "**sukí, sukí**," and this was the name given to the town, which later was changed by the Spaniards to Valladolid. For a probable representation of this tree, see Codex Tro-Cortesianus, pp. 75, 76.

the Spaniards, in the sixth heaven, there lives a class of spirits called **Nukutšyumtšakob**.<sup>1</sup> The former gods of the Mayas have been relegated to the rôle of spirits under the dominion of *El Gran Dios*. In many cases, where among the Lacandones there is found a single god, among the Mayas of the present time there is a class of spirits. One of these spirits, called **Nukutšyumtšakob**, would be called **Nohotšyumtšak**,<sup>2</sup> and it is this term, with a change in the arrangement of the syllables, **Nohotš(tš)akyum**, that we have found given to the main god of the Lacandones (p. 93). Among the Mayas this class of spirits is also called **Apenuloob**, or simply **Yumtšakob**. They are regarded as old, white-haired, and as having beards. They are described as being very fond of smoking. These are gods of rain and carry out the commands of the God of the seventh heaven. In addition to these attributes they are the protectors of human beings. According to the early authorities, the rain gods were called "**Tšak**" (written **Chao**). A rite for rain is still carried on by the Mayas. It is called by the reduplicated term **tšatšak** (p. 162).

On the fifth plain above the earth reside the protecting spirits of the *milpas* or fields, **Qu<sup>h</sup>ob**, and of the forest, **A<sup>h</sup>kananqašob**.<sup>3</sup> **Yumqaš** (written **Yumkash**) is given as a god of the fields among the early Mayas. To each of these classes of spirits rites are performed which will be described later.

The fourth heaven is occupied by a class of spirits called **A<sup>h</sup>kananbaltšob**. This word has the meaning "the protectors of the animals."

In the third heaven live the spirits who are not well disposed toward man, **A<sup>h</sup>qaqasbalob**.<sup>4</sup>

The gods of the winds live on the second plain: **A<sup>h</sup>laqinqu**,

<sup>1</sup> They are called by the Spanish name *regaderos*, from the verb *regar*, to water, to moisten.

<sup>2</sup> **Nukutš** is the plural form of the adjective **nohotš**, meaning great.

<sup>3</sup> The **a<sup>h</sup>** seen in many of these proper names is the masculine prefix, contrasted with the feminine form **š**.

<sup>4</sup> This word is made from the reduplicated form of the adjective meaning bad, **qas**.



god of the east wind, **A<sup>h</sup>tšiqinqu**, god of the west wind, **A<sup>h</sup>noholqinqu**, god of the south wind, and **A<sup>h</sup>samanqinqu**, god of the north wind. The early Mayas had a spirit of the wind called **Iq** (written **Ik**).

In the first heaven above the earth lived the **Yumbalamob**. They are for the special protection of "*cristianos*." They are invisible during the day, but at night they are awake and remain seated at the crosses set up at the entrance of the pueblos. There are four of the **Yumbalamob**, one for each of the cardinal points. They mount guard over the town and protect the people from the animals of the forest and other dangers. The pieces of worked obsidian often found throughout Yucatan are supposed to have been used by the **Balamob** to cut through the wind, and by the sounds thus produced to make signs to their companions stationed at the other entrances to the town. These obsidian flakes are also used to hurl at animals who are about to attack men.

Below the earth is the abode of **Kisin**, the earthquake and god of the underworld (**metnal**). He is a god of evil. The **Yumtsakob** send down the rain which refreshes the earth. This makes the ground cold and uncomfortable for **Kisin**, so that he makes a wind in the sky to drive away the rain clouds. It is in this underworld that the spirits of those live who have committed suicide by throwing themselves into a *cenote*,<sup>1</sup> or by some other means. The spirits of all people who die go here for a short time, after which they pass through the several heavens, finally arriving at the seventh, where they live in happiness forever. The souls (**pišan**) of men who have died in war and of women who have died in childbirth go directly to the upper world, without the intermediate residence in **metnal**. The Mayas have always believed in a future life, but it is hard to tell how much influence the Catholic teaching has had on the ideas they now entertain.

The soul of a dead person is called **pišan**. This is the same

<sup>1</sup> This would seem to be the most common form of voluntary death.

term used by the Lacandonese. The god who conducts the spirit of the dead to the several abodes is called **Tiasapiñan**. Among the Lacandonese, we have seen (p. 47) how the spirit is provided with food for the journey. Among the Mayas as well food is placed on the grave to provide for the welfare of the spirit until it reaches the seventh heaven. It is believed that a priest will come at the end of the world, and by the sense of smell he will separate the true Indians from those of mixed blood.

In addition to the gods whose names have been given as inhabiting the different heavens, there are a number of other spirits whose attributes vary, and who are supposed to live in one of the several abodes of the gods.

**A<sup>h</sup>qinšok** is described as owner of the days. The spirits who have protection over the bees are called **Kananšušob**, and the owners of the medicinal herbs are named **Sitbolontun**. Brinton gives this same term to the gods of medicine. **Suhuiqaaq** is the spirit of the new fire, a god of healing. The Lacandone god, **Qaaq**, may be identified with this god of the Mayas. **A<sup>h</sup>kuštal** is the god of birth. The mythical serpent, **Ququulkan**, of the Lacandonese is called **Ququikan** among the Mayas. It is described as a many-headed snake living in the sky. At intervals it comes to the earth to a place below the home of the red ants (*sai*). **A<sup>h</sup>maktiq** (the one who locks up the wind) is a spirit to whom an appeal is made when there are very strong winds working damage to the crops.

As among the Lacandonese, the thunder is called **tanupekqu**. The gods of rain, **Yumtšakob**, are said to be rushing everywhere in a storm, and they use the thunder to announce their coming. The lightning, **tanuhaoqu**, is the whip with which they lash their horses. The rain gods carry bows and arrows and often fell trees in their journeys. Sometimes the points of their arrows are found in the midst of the forest. This is the explanation given when a meteorite is found. Among some of the Mayas, it is believed that where a meteorite<sup>1</sup> falls, there a

<sup>1</sup> **Tšinqaaq**, literally suspended fire.

lake will afterward be found filled with alligators. As has been noted, the **Yumtšakoq** are great smokers. Comets are explained as the cigars which are being thrown away by the rain gods.

As among the Lacandones, both the sun and his consort, the moon, are regarded as servants of the main god. The deities themselves never do any real work, and as the sun and moon are continually in motion, they cannot be regarded as anything more than servants. It is considered a bad sign to point to the sun or moon. When the sun or moon is in eclipse, it is believed that an evil being (**qaqasbal**) is biting them.<sup>1</sup> A great noise is made to frighten the animal away. The children are struck so that they will cry.<sup>2</sup> No trace of this idea can be found among the Lacandones. The former belief that a great noise must be made is found among the Mexicans. Its origin may possibly be traced to them.

There are a great number of spirits among the Mayas of the present time who are ill-disposed toward men. **Štabai** is a term used both by the Lacandones and the Mayas both now and at the time of the Conquest. It is given by Brasseur de Bourbourg as a god of the chase. Among the Lacandones, it is a goddess residing in the rocks of the forest. Among the Mayas, it is the name given to a class of demons of snake form living in caves. They lie in wait, ready to spring out in human form and capture men. These they carry into the underworld, or throw them into a *cenote*. They are sometimes female in form, and sit in the forks of trees combing their hair. The **Yoyoltš** are in the same class as the **Štabai**. Each of their steps is half a league in length. They walk in the night and shake the houses as they pass. The **Pulahoob**<sup>3</sup> are a class of spirits corresponding

<sup>1</sup> When the sun is in eclipse, the expression is **tun tšibi Yumqin**.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cogolludo, 1688, Bk. IV, Chap. 4: "En los eclipses de Sol, y Luna, usan por tradition de sus passados, hazer que sus perror ahullen, ò lloren, pellizcandolos el cuerpo, ò las orejas, y dñ golpes en las tab'as, y bancos, y puerta. Dizen que la Luna se muere, ò la pican un genero de hormiga, que llaman Xulab." For similar account, see Aguilar, 1638, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Literally **Pulahoob** means the throwers out. The Spanish term is *hechicero*, a witch.

Cf. Aguilar, 1639, p. 74: "Tambien ay Indios hechizeros que con ensalmas

to our idea of witches. They are employed to work evil toward wrongdoers. Their power can be exerted only over evil. If a person is supposed to be a murderer, and the family of the murdered man want him killed if he be the guilty one, one of the *hechiceros* (*pulahoob*) is invoked, and a small human figure in clay is made. In this effigy a thorn is placed either in the head or heart. This is then secretly buried in the doorway of the supposed murderer's hut. As he passes over it, he immediately becomes ill. If the man in question is guilty, he dies; otherwise he recovers. If one desires to send *calentura* to punish a wrongdoer, *chili* is rubbed on the clay figure to be buried. Another method of punishing a culprit is to place poison in his food, other than in anything made of corn. This composes the main offering of food made to the gods, and therefore is not suited to be used in such a connection. If the person who eats the poisoned food is guilty, vomiting forth tarantulas, snakes, earth, ashes, and pieces of crystal, he finally dies in great agony. If, on the other hand, he is innocent, the poison does him no harm.

The spirits of cold, *Yumikeel*, and of heat, *Yumqaq* or *Yumtaakwil*, are evil in nature. They are the ones who send fevers of many kinds. There is a spirit, called *Paqok*, who wanders around in the night and attacks women. There are spirits of evil everywhere and all are waiting to work harm unless certain charms are carried and rites performed to counteract their mischievous inclinations.

**Ceremonies.**—There are no remains of idols among the Mayas. Incense-burners are found, but they are simple bowls with no suggestion of a head attached, as we have seen existing among the Lacandones. Some of the incense-burners are made in the form of animals with the bowl for burning *copal*

curan a las mordidos, o picados de víboras, y culebras, que ay infinitas de cascabel; los quales rabian, y se les pudren, las carnes, y mueren. Y el remedio, que les di, por averlo oído, es que bevan escrementos de hombre, o el çumo de limones . . ."

on the back of the creature (cf. Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). The *santos*<sup>1</sup> possessed by the Mayas of the present time are furnished by the Catholic Church. There is a rite, much of which is native in character, now carried on before these pictures of the saints which have taken the place of the idols of the Lacandones. This rite is called *hahaltan*. Clay incense-burners are made in a bowl shape and in these live coals and *copal* are placed. Palm leaves are used to scatter the smoke of the incense, but not, as among the Lacandones, to carry away any of the beneficial effect of the presence of the god (p. 121). The priest or leader of the rite takes the bowl of smoking incense in his hand as he prays. When there is no *olla*, a piece of bark is used in which to burn the *copal*. A *hotšillip* is made as a further offering to the *santo*. This is a pole on which there are a graduated series of shelves or platforms, the smaller being at the top. Each of these shelves holds offerings of food for the *santo*, among which are figures of birds made of bread (*tšitšiwā*).

A ceremony of thanksgiving (*uhanlikol*<sup>2</sup>) is performed among the Mayas similar in some respects to that existing among the Lacandones at the time when the first fruits of the *milpa* are offered to the gods (p. 103). This rite among the Mayas is celebrated in the field after the harvest of corn is gathered. *Baltše*, similar in all respects to that made by the Lacandones, is made at a place somewhere outside the domestic hut several days before the rite is to occur. *Chili* is added to the honey and the *baltše* bark. Nine *jicaras* of the drink are prepared and a pile of large and thick *tortillas* (*tutiwa*). Between each two of the *tortillas* there are placed either *frejoles*, cooked and mashed, or *pepita* (*sikil*), the seeds of the *calabasa*. On the topmost *tortilla* of this sandwich-like mass, a cross is made with the pressure of the finger. This *tutiwa* is then placed in the

<sup>1</sup> This is the same word used among the Mexicans of Chiapas in referring to the incense-burners of the Lacandones.

<sup>2</sup> This term is formed from the root of the verb to eat, *hanal*, and the word for *milpa*, *kol*. Literally, it means the *milpa*, its offering of food.

middle of a table in the field where the corn is grown. Around this pile of nine *tortillas*, dishes of deer meat are placed, together with cigars made of the first tobacco of the year rolled in corn husks, and the nine *jicaras* of *baltše*. In addition to these offerings, several *tortillas* are placed in a large earthen *olla* and on top of these a meat soup is poured together with *baltše*, finally the livers of several chickens are deposited on top of the mass in the *olla* and above these the two feet of a hen.<sup>1</sup>

A bit of the contents of each of the dishes is thrown to the east, south, west, and north as a gift to the spirits residing in the four quarters of the sky. A chant is then made, and all the saints of each *pueblo* are invited to come and partake of the offering. After the prayer, each man comes, and, as he kneels down in front of the table, the priest places a part of the *tortilla* in his mouth and gives him some of the *baltše* to drink. Here we find the transition stage between the rite as described as performed among the Lacandones (p. 130) and the office of communion as carried out by the Christian Church. A dish of the meat and a piece of the *tutiwa* are finally given to each one present, when the regular feasting begins.

As among the Lacandones, the daily routine of life is filled with religious rites which recur as uniformly as the seasons. Toward the close of the period of drought, before the *milpa* can be burned properly, a rite must be performed invoking the spirits of the wind to come so that the fire may spread and a good burning be the result. This rite is called *usäkaikol*.<sup>2</sup> A shelf is made in the *milpa* of poles stretching between the trees. On this, facing the east, nine *jicaras* of *posol* are placed (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). Directly behind the gourds of *posol*, a cross of two sticks is set up in the ground (Pl. XIX, Fig. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landa, 1864, p. 254: "En medio ponian un gran manojo de varillas secas atadas, y enhiestas, y quemando primero de su encienso en el brazero, pegavan fuego a las varillas, y en tanto que ardian, sacavan con liberalidad los coraçones a las aves y animales, y echavanlos a quemar en el fuego."

<sup>2</sup> Literally, the meaning is the *milpa* (*kol*), its offering of *posol* (*säka*). This *posol* must be made of the corn from the ends of the cob.

This serves as a medium by which the *posol* is given to the spirit owners of the field, **Ahkananqašob**.

This offering is left for a few hours and the fires are started. After they are well under way, the burners return to the offering of *posol* and the owner of the *milpa* spatters with the end of a leaf a particle of the contents of each *jicara* to the east, south, west, and north. There is no chant in this rite. After the spirits in the four cardinal points have thus been given an offering, the *posol* is drunk and the work of burning continues.

A similar offering of *posol* is often made after the corn is planted. This is to propitiate the rain gods, **Yumtšakob**, so that they will come and bring the rain.

A more general ceremony for rain, called **tšatšak**, is entered into by all the people of a *pueblo* at the time of a great drought. Each contributes his share of corn, honey, *frejoles*, and *pepita*. The corn is ground and made into nine large *tortillas*, and the other gifts are placed between the different *tortillas*. This offering, together with dishes of meat, is placed in a field as in the rite of **uhanlikol**. All the men then make a noise like the toads (**mutš**), after which a small portion of the offerings is scattered to the four cardinal points. A general feasting then begins.

A simple offering of *posol* is made near the house before the departure on any extended hunting trip. The *posol* is for the owners of the animals, **A<sup>b</sup>kanabaltšēob**. This rite is called **usšakaičon**.<sup>1</sup> A short chant is made at the departure and again on the return.

There is a rather elaborate ceremony carried out, usually in January, in behalf of the cattle. This is called by the half Maya, half Spanish, name *Locorral*.<sup>2</sup> This rite, now performed for the domestic herds, probably had its rise in a similar rite directed to slightly different ends. A quantity of **baltšē** is made and a pole (**pabitšē**) is planted in the center of the *corral*. **Wantul**, the spirit who guards the cattle, is supposed to come

<sup>1</sup> Literally, the meaning is the gun (**čon**), its (**u**) offering of *posol* (**saka**).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Garcia, 1905, pp. 63-68.

and hover around the pole during the celebration of the rite. The lasso (*tapkani*) of *Wantul*, made of a *bejuco*, is placed on the pole. A man goes far into the forest with a gourd of *baltše*. He bellows like an ox as he goes along. Two *vaqueros* go in search of the ox-man. As soon as they find him, they lasso him and bring him back to the *corral*. He is tied to the pole, after which he is released and immediately begins to kick and behave in the manner of a wild bull. He is lassoed again and is given twenty-five cuts with the end of the lariat. All the men present also strike the unruly ox-man. The priest then recites a short chant. He spatters the *baltše* carried by the man who impersonates the ox in the direction of the four cardinal points and then gives it to all those present, when the rite closes.

There is a ceremony in behalf of the caretakers of the bees, *Ukananšušob*, called *Uhanlikab*. *Posol* is placed in the *jicaras* in the same way as in the rite in the *milpa* (p. 160).

The rites of divination are no less important a factor in the life of the Maya of the present time than in that of the Lacandone. The Catholic priests have done much to stamp out this custom, but it is to be found, however, as are many of the other rites, only in the less densely populated parts of the peninsula. All the divinatory rites must necessarily be performed by a man skilled in the use of the different means of divination. This class of men is called in Spanish *yerbateros*, and in Maya *men*, meaning to understand, to know how. It is they who are skilled in the use of the herbs and medicines of the country. They are also versed in the means employed to look into the future and forecast coming events.

The most common way to predict the future is by a crystal (*sastun* or *sashom*), which is supposed to contain a virgin. The rock must first of all be awakened to consciousness. This is done by placing it in a vessel containing *baltše*. The *men* then holds it to the light. Clouds may sometimes be seen in it, it is said, and in these the priest reads the future. When a crystal is lacking, eighteen grains of corn (*wo<sup>h</sup>*) are used in



much the same way. They are made to live by offering five *jicars* of *posol* for nine days to the **Yumbalamob** occupying the first heaven. After this, each grain is held up separately and examined before a lighted candle. They are then made into two groups of nine each and thrown on the floor. The **men** reads the future in the relative positions they take as they fall from his hand.

A ring is sometimes used for divination. It is placed in a vessel containing *baltse*, tobacco, and nine leaves of a tree called in Spanish *hoja de viento*. In the movements of the ring among the leaves, the future is foretold. In this again we find the number nine an important factor in the rite. In all the offerings there seem to be two *jicaras*, two *tortillas*, two grains of corn, or two leaves for each of the four cardinal points, and one for the heavens directly above, thus making nine in all:

Sickness of many kinds is supposed to be cured by virtue of the properties contained in fire kindled by two sticks (p. 133). This new fire is called by the names of one of the gods, **Suhuiqaq**. A stone heated in this fire imbues water with a magical power to cure *calentura*.<sup>1</sup>

We find, as we have seen, much of importance still preserved in the life and customs of the natives of Yucatan and the country to the southward. I have tried to bring out throughout this paper the results of European contact upon what was once in all probability a homogeneous people, the Mayas under the influence of Spanish rule since the earliest days of the Conquest and the Lacandones who have singularly been left to themselves after the first vain attempts at Christianizing them.

The remarkable preservation of the native Maya language in Yucatan, together with the dress and many domestic customs, to say nothing of the survivals of the native religious ideas throughout the peninsula, points to a wonderful vitality, and to some inherent power against any change, which is possessed

<sup>1</sup> Starr (1902, *a*, pp. 15-22) gives a number of cases of religious ideas among the Mayas at the present time regarding charms and the cure of diseases.

Cf. also Garcia, 1905, and 1905, *a*, and Palma y Palma, 1901.

in a rare degree by the Mayas of Yucatan. If, in language, dress and in much of the religion, survivals are found among the civilized Mayas of the north, it may rightfully be expected that among the Lacandones, than whom no people in Mexico and Central America has been more free from outside influence, we should find a far closer relation between the former culture and that existing at the present time. I have tried to point out the more relevant of these survivals, the pilgrimages to the ruined cities, the use of the stone idols and clay incense-burners, the latter being renewed at certain intervals, the *copal* nodules found in the ruins and also in use to-day, the ear cut with the stone knife, compulsory drunkenness, survivals of the names of many of the gods, identity of rites pictured in the codices with those celebrated at the present time, and the similarity in the character of the offerings. Thus we might go on finding more and more examples of survivals in the life of the Mayas and the Lacandones. But in spite of all this, the Mayas, and more especially the Lacandones, are very low in the scale of culture. They have no creative genius whatsoever, nor have they appreciation for anything artistic. If these people are the descendants of those of master minds who conceived and carried out the ancient culture found throughout the country, it is hard to explain why the temples and sculptures in their midst do not serve to keep up or even to revive any latent power which it would seem they ought to possess. But among the Lacandones and Mayas as well, there is no one, as far as can be made out, who is able to give us the slightest possible aid in deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Their mind is a blank upon this subject, not, I am sure, from any desire of secrecy, but from absolute ignorance. I have tried in every way that human ingenuity can devise to test the Lacandones on their knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing, and all without results. I then repeat, that I feel positive that it is not due to an unwillingness to disclose knowledge forbidden to an outsider, but to pure ignorance, that my attempts have met with failure.

We have, I think, an explanation for this. The culture was far in its decline at the time of the Spanish Conquest. Some of the ruined cities in northern and eastern Yucatan were undoubtedly occupied at this time, but to the southward, the ruined centers of Copan, Quirigua, and Palenque were buried in the depths of the forest, and all their life and activities had ceased long before the Spaniards came into the country. Intense civil strife and warfare with the Nahuas and more barbaric tribes to the north and with the Central American tribes to the south were one of the causes of this decline in the life of the Mayas. But there is another reason, which goes far towards explaining the ignorance of the Lacandones of anything pertaining to the question of the hieroglyphs. The early Spanish accounts speak almost without exception of this knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing being a possession only of the priestly class and of a few of the nobles, and conversely, that it was not shared by the common people.<sup>1</sup> The priests

<sup>1</sup> Lizana, 1633 (quoted by Brinton, 1882, *a*, p. xxi): "La historia y autores que podemos alegar son unos antiguos caracteres, mal entendidos de muchos, y glossados de unos indios antiguos, que son hijos de los sacerdotes de sus dioses, que son los que solo sabian leer y adivinar, y a quien creian y reverenciavan como á Dioses destos."

Ponce, p. 392: "Estas letras y caracteras no las entendian, sino los sacerdotes de los idolos (que en aquella lengua se llaman 'ahkines'), y algun indio principal."

Landa, 1864, p. 42: "Que los de Yucatan fueron tan curiosos en las cosas de la religion como en las del gobierno, y que tenian un gran sacerdote que llamaban Ahkin-Mai, y por otro nombre Ahau-Can-Mai, que quiere dezir el Sacerdote Mai o el Gran Sacerdote Mai, y que este era muy reverenciado de los señores el qual no tenia repartimiento de indios, pero que sin las offendas, le hazian presentes los señores y que todos los sacerdotes de los pueblos le contribuian: y que a este le succedian en la dignidad sus hijos y parientes mas cercanos, y que en este estava la llave de sus sciencias, y que en estas tratavan lo mas, y que davan consejo a los señores y respuestas a sus preguntas; y que cosas de los sacrificios pocas vezes las tratava sino en fiestas muy principales, o en negocios muy importantes; y que este proveia de sacerdotes a los pueblos quando faltavan, examinandoles en sus sciencias y cerimonias, y que les encargava las cosas de sus officios y el buen exemplo del pueblo y proveya de sus libros y los embiava, y que estos attendian al servicio de los templos, y a enseñar sus sciencias y escribir libros de ellas. Que enseñavan los hijos de los sacerdotes, y a los hijos segundos de los señores que llevavan para esto desde niños, si veian se inclinavan a este officio. Que las sciencias que enseñavan eran le

and the members of the higher classes did not submit without a struggle to the conditions of practical slavery imposed upon them by the Spanish conquerors. Moreover it was the special desire of the Spanish priests to stamp out all remembrance of the native religion, and this was only possible by first putting an end to those possessing this dangerous knowledge. As a consequence we have at the present time no one remaining whose duty it is to keep alive this ancient teaching of the hieroglyphic writing.

On the other hand, the larger dependent class, without whose labor the great artificial pyramids and elaborate working in stone would have been impossible, would naturally have an acquaintance with the ceremonial side of the religion without possessing a knowledge of the fundamental conceptions underlying it, as would be expressed by the hieroglyphic writing. This element in the population has as its descendant the Lacandones of the present time, who have kept up what there is yet remaining of the former rites. We find, as we have seen, the ceremonial side still existing in the many survivals, but as for explanations touching upon the deeper significance of the religion and reasons for the line of thought necessary to explain the hieroglyphic writing, we meet with disappointment.

We pass from the long and slow beginnings in the far-distant past to the culmination of the culture still in the past and far on its way downward when the first Spaniard set his foot on this continent. From the heights reached in the development of the hieroglyphic system and noted in the remains of the ruined structures found throughout Yucatan and Central America, we come to what we find to-day, a few scattered families living out their own lives, hidden in the depths of the forest, alone and forgotten.

cuenta de los años, meses y días, las fiestas y ceremonias, la administracion de sus sacramentos, los días y tiempos fatales, sus maneras de adivinar y sus profecias, los acaecimientos, y remedios para los males, y las antigüedades, y leer y escribir con sus libros y carateres con los quales escribian y con figuras que significavan las escrituras."



# CHANTS

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

### No. 1

A set of bow and arrows offered to the gods when a boy arrives at the age of puberty

**He kin tšakuntik<sup>1</sup> u halal,<sup>2</sup> Yume<sup>3</sup>**  
 I am about to redden his set of bow and arrows, O father.  
**He u halal in oen<sup>4</sup> Yume Tšihi**  
 See his set of bow and arrows my son, oh father. When he is  
 grown, **ku qasi<sup>5</sup> ketš. Tšihi**  
 he will make offerings to you. When he is grown,  
**ku ɕa tetš huun Yume.**  
 he will give you an offering of a fillet, oh father.

### No. 2

Eclipse of sun

**Siptäk Yume<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>7</sup> ubalal hun**  
 Most excellent father, do not permit to be hidden the one  
**qaq.<sup>8</sup> Hoqok täktal hen bortiketš**  
 fire. Come out, warmth, I will pay you (with an offering),  
**siptäk Yume. Hoqok täktal oroil, in wilik yum**  
 most excellent father. Come out, warmth, poor, I see the god  
**ušutan. Manan insipil. Ma tin täkal,<sup>9</sup>**  
 pinched. In nothing have I erred. I do not associate with

<sup>1</sup> To make red spots of *achiote* as a sign that they are offered to the gods.

<sup>2</sup> **Uhal** or **uhlal** is the same as **uhulul**, his set (*juego*).

<sup>3</sup> This is a title given to all the gods and refers to the one to whom the offering in question is made.

<sup>4</sup> From the word **pentik** to bring up, to rear. The sentence reads, see my son's set of bow and arrows.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, the meaning is growing up, he will remind you (by means of offerings).

<sup>6</sup> This refers to **Nohotšakyum**, who has the sun for his servant.

<sup>7</sup> The negative has the idea of prohibition. The verb is in the passive.

<sup>8</sup> This is a name given to the sun. He is also called **Yumqin**.

<sup>9</sup> The form **täkal** is intransitive; literally, I am not an associate.

Yume ma tin tākik in lak<sup>1</sup>  
 any one, O father, I do not associate with my companions, O  
 Yume.  
 father.

## No. 3

Divination for name of god whose presence is desired

Qerqertākanina<sup>2</sup> kai yal u tan<sup>3</sup> kani<sup>4</sup> kai  
 . . . . . for him to tell his name in the sky, for him to  
 yal u tan tin qer ma umamaq tani  
 tell his name in my hand, do not permit to be false the name  
 tin qer. Matš en pokbeni<sup>5</sup> u tan  
 in my hand. Take possession of me, to be received his name,  
 ma umamaq tani tin qer kai yal  
 do not permit to be false the name in my hand, for him to tell  
 u tan kani ošilan<sup>6</sup> yal u tan  
 his name in the sky, in the home of the gods, tell his name  
 tin qer yal u tan kani. Ma  
 in my hand, tell his name in the sky. Do not permit him  
 tuolk en<sup>7</sup> tin qerki. Ošilan yal u  
 to lie to me in my hand. In the home of the gods, tell his  
 tan. Ošilan pokben iqi<sup>8</sup>  
 word. In the home of the gods, to be received the message.  
 Matš en. Kiantšē<sup>9</sup> kolki, . . . . .<sup>10</sup>  
 Take possession of me. Inside (is) the stem . . . . .  
 Kai yal u tan tin qer. Maben umulik  
 For him to tell his word in my hand. May he not hide it

<sup>1</sup> Very often a plural form is not used when a plural sense is clearly shown.

<sup>2</sup> This term is incapable of translation. It probably denotes the action of the divinatory rite. *Qer* is the word used among the Lacandones for hand rather than the usual form *qab*.

<sup>3</sup> The division into syllables is purely arbitrary.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult in all cases to explain the addition of the vowel *i* at the end of words.

<sup>5</sup> *Pokben* is equivalent to *qamben*.

<sup>6</sup> In Yucatan, the term *ošilal* is given to the home of the spirits who own the bees.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, to lie me. The form is transitive.

<sup>8</sup> Literally *iq* means the wind.

<sup>9</sup> This word is omitted when the second form of the divinatory rite is undertaken. There are other slight differences.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the god about whom the intelligence is desired is inserted at this place.

tin qer. Kukitöker. Kuhaul  
 (the word) in my hand. He tells the truth. He is concluding  
 u tan tin qer. Heu likike hei wai yu tal. Kuhaul  
 his word in my hand. He will rise if it is good. He is con-  
 u tan tin qer.  
 cluding his word in my hand.

## No. 4

Divination for name of offering desired by the gods

Tšula<sup>1</sup> wa ku qatik<sup>2</sup> yum.  
 An offering of *posol* if he may care for it, the god. An  
 Tšula wa ku oiboltik yum. Bal  
 offering of *posol* if he may desire it, the god. Anything (as)  
 u matan ku qatik, Yumki.<sup>3</sup> Baš ku qatik, tšula?  
 his gift he may like, O god. What does he like, an offering  
 Baš ku oiboltik, tšula?  
 of *posol*? What does he desire, an offering of *posol*? He  
 Heiulikil,<sup>4</sup> heiyuñtal.<sup>4</sup> Hen<sup>5</sup> bortiketš in  
 raises himself, he is reanimated. I will pay to you my offer-  
 tšula tetš.  
 ing of *posol* to you.

## No. 5

Distribution of *copal* in the *braseros* during the process of the manufac-  
 ture of the new incense-burners.

Tan in kubik<sup>6</sup> in pom ketš tiala  
 I am restoring my offering of *copal* to you for you (in turn)  
 kubik tik<sup>7</sup> yum tiala nasik<sup>8,9</sup>  
 to restore it to the father (your master), for you to raise it up

<sup>1</sup> This is an example of the sort of chant given to ascertain if the god or gods are willing to accept an offering of *posol*. The name of the other offerings is inserted in this place in turn.

<sup>2</sup> The idea is if he has a taste for it.

<sup>3</sup> It is hard to explain the presence of the vocative when all the verbs are in the third person.

<sup>4</sup> This probably refers to the supposed readiness of the god in question to give an answer to the questioning.

<sup>5</sup> Hen, a contraction for *he-in*.

<sup>6</sup> The idea is of giving back as an offering of thanks and a prayer for continued blessings a part of that originally sent by the gods.

<sup>7</sup> Kubik tik is equivalent to kubitik.

<sup>8</sup> The food is given to the spirit represented by the *olla* who acts as a servant to carry the offering to the god represented by the idol within the *olla*.

<sup>9</sup> Nasik is equivalent to naksik.



tik yum. Hen bortiketš in tšula tetš  
 to the father. I will pay you my offering of *copal* to you  
 uhel a kunya tiala kubtik yum.  
 again for your welfare for you to restore it to the father.  
 Hen bortiketš in tšula tetš tiala tšili.<sup>1</sup>  
 I will pay you my offering of *copal* to you for you yourself.  
 Tan in mertik in sil tetški . . . . .<sup>2</sup> uhel a  
 I am making my gifts to you . . . . . again for your  
 kunya. Bininkin<sup>3</sup> pok in sil tetš, ma tu  
 welfare. I am about to dry my gifts to you, may they not  
 bnhul ma ulakal u hol in sil  
 crumble, may they not separate (as to) their heads, my gifts  
 tetš,<sup>4</sup> ma tu wakal in sil tetš, ma tu  
 to you, may they not crack, my gifts to you, may they not  
 pašal in sil tetš. Il<sup>5</sup> in mertik in sil tetš,  
 break, my gifts to you. See me making my gifts to you, O  
 Yume. Ma tu lubul tšakwilki. Bininkin pulik  
 god. May not fall (upon me) fever. I am about to place  
 etš yoko tumu lāk.<sup>6</sup> Il in mertik in sil  
 you (the idol) in the new brasero. See me making my gifts  
 tetš uhel a kunya. Il in mertik in sil  
 to you again for your welfare. See, I am making my gifts to  
 tetš tia yol in palal. Ma u näktantik  
 you for the health (of) my children. May not trample (them)  
 yahil, ma u näktantik keel,  
 under foot any harm, may not trample them under foot cold,  
 ma u näktantik tšakwil. Orqen, ta šibal<sup>7,8</sup>  
 may not trample them under foot fever. Enter, walk,  
 a wilik in pal, akune in pal.  
 see my son, cure my son.

<sup>1</sup> A part of the offering is also given to the spirit of the *brasero*, represented by the head, for his own consumption.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the god to whom the offering is being made is inserted here.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, I am going.

<sup>4</sup> Freely, may the heads of my gifts to you not separate from the bowls.

<sup>5</sup> Il is the root of the verb to see. It is joined so closely to the personal pronoun as almost to constitute one form of pronoun.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, *olla*.

<sup>7</sup> The quick change from the first infinitive to finite forms cannot be explained.

<sup>8</sup> Šibal is equivalent to šimbal.

No. 6

An offering of *posol* placed in *jicaras* before the line of *braseros*

Tan in kubik in tšula tetš tial a kubik  
I am restoring my offering of *posol* to you for you to restore  
tik yum.<sup>1</sup>  
it to father. (The remainder of the chant follows No. 5 in  
the main.)

No. 7

An offering of *posol* administered to the *braseros*

In tšula tetš Yume tan in lutšik<sup>2</sup>  
My offering of *posol* to you, O father, I am dipping out  
ta tši uhel akunya, tiala tal  
upon your lip again for your welfare, for you to come and  
akunik in palal, tiala yemen.<sup>3</sup> Uboli a wok tiala  
charm my sons, for you to descend. Retard your feet in order  
wukik in tšula<sup>4</sup> tetš. In tšula  
to drink my offering of *posol* to you. My offering of *posol* to  
tetš Yume, tan in çaik tetš tiala kubik tik  
you, O father, I am giving you for you to restore it to the  
yum. In tšula tetš Yume, tan in çaik  
father. My offering of *posol* to you, O father, I am giving  
tetš tiala tšili uhel a kunya. Tšae le  
it to you for you yourself again for your welfare. Take this  
tšula tiala kub tik yum. Tšae le  
offering of *posol* for you to restore it to the father. Take this  
tšula tiala tšili. Tšae le tšula  
offering of *posol* for you yourself. Take this offering of *posol*

<sup>1</sup> When an offering of *posol* is placed during the making of the *milpa* the  
chant is as follows: —

Tiliken kuštal in qas etš. Ma in tšäk in wok.  
I alone am enjoying life, I sacrifice to you. Do not allow me to cut my foot.  
Tan in mertik in kol. Tiani woli. Ma in lak  
I am making my *milpa*. For this I have health. Do not allow the bottom of  
tšete utšuntše. Tan in mertik in kol, kuçokul  
my foot to injure, a sharp stick. I am making my *milpa*, when it is finished I  
kin qasik etš.  
will sacrifice to you.

<sup>2</sup> This word is used when it is desired to express the act of dipping some-  
thing out of a vessel with a spoon.

<sup>3</sup> One would expect the form *wemen* in the second person.

<sup>4</sup> As each time "my offering of *posol*" is said, a particle of the liquid is  
placed on the mouth of the *braseiro*.

tiala ku matan. Tšae le tšula uhel a  
 for you, his gift. Take this offering of *posol* again for your  
 kunya, tial u kuštal, in palal. Tšae le  
 welfare, in behalf of them enjoying life, my sons. Take this  
 tšula tial u<sup>1</sup> kuštal in watan. Tšae  
 offering of *posol* in behalf of her enjoying life, my wife. Take  
 le tšula tial in kuštal tšliken<sup>2</sup> in  
 this offering of *posol* in behalf of me enjoying life, I alone I  
 qas etš.  
 sacrifice to you.

## No. 8

An offering of *posol* administered to the *brasero* of Usukun.

Tan in lutšik ta tšl, Usukun, Yume in  
 I am dipping out upon your mouth, Usukun, my father, my  
 tšula.  
 offering of *posol*.

## No. 9

An offering of *posol* offered at the east of the sacred hut

Tal u hol<sup>3</sup> tetš Yume mutšite tial  
 (Here) comes its top to you, O father, accept it for the  
 yol in palal, in Yume. Tial yol<sup>4</sup> in watan  
 health (of) my sons, my father. For the health (of) my wife  
 tiala mäkik tiala wukik. Tšae le tšula  
 for you to eat, for you to drink. Take up this offering of *posol*  
 tiala matan.  
 for your gift.

## No. 10

An offering of *posol* administered to the *braseros* on the shelf

(The chant is the same as that given before Usukun, No. 8,  
 with the name of the god in question substituted for Usukun.)

## No. 11

An offering of *posol* administered to the drum, Qaiyum

(The chant is the same as No. 8, with Qaiyum substituted  
 for Usukun.)

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun is really the subject of the verb, which is not a participle in form.

<sup>2</sup> The objective pronoun; literally, I am alone.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, its head.

<sup>4</sup> As each phrase is spoken a particle is spattered.

No. 12

Palm leaves distributed to the participants in the rite

**Mutšite**                      **pok**                                      **a baki.**<sup>1</sup>  
Take (the leaves), warm (in the fire of the incense) your? (leaves).  
**Bininka**    **qipite**                      **a sil.**<sup>2</sup>  
I am going to cleanse your gifts, (may I?)

No. 13

Palm leaves held over the smoke of the burning incense

**Tan in**    **tšuk**                      **a buöl,**                      **tian i woli,**                      **tšiken**  
I am absorbing your smoke, for this I am well, I myself am  
**kuštal.**                      **In qas etš.**                      **Ma u tšiken kan.**  
enjoying life. I sacrifice to you. May not bite me the serpent.  
**Ma u tšiken**                      **balum.**                      **Tian i woli.**  
May not bite me the tiger. For this I am well. (Cause to)  
'**Pate yahil.**<sup>3</sup>                      **Pate tšakwil.**                      **Ma u näktantik**  
cease evil. (Cause to) cease fever. May not trample under  
**yahil,**                      **tiani yol,**<sup>4</sup>                      **in palal.**                      **Ma u**  
foot evil (my sons), for this they are well, my sons. May not  
**näk tantik**                      **tšakwil,**                      **tiani yol.**<sup>4</sup>                      **in**  
trample (my sons) under foot fever, for this they are well, my  
**palal tiani yol**                      **in watan.**  
sons, for this she is well, my wife.

No. 14

Chant over a young boy with the palm leaves consecrated in the smoke of the incense

**Kune**<sup>5</sup> **in pal, in yume,**                      **upate**<sup>6</sup> **yahil,**  
Guard my son, my father, (cause to) cease any evil, (cause

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the phrase is clear, but the exact significance of *ba* is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is addressed to each man, and each is supposed to answer *Bai*, yes.

<sup>3</sup> There is a very interesting parallel in a single line of a prayer noted by Margil, 1696. "Ofrecen copal diciendo, Macom, illa hau tzaon (?a on) an apom. Macon (evidently, from the context, the name of one of the idols) no nos aparees ay esta tu copal."

<sup>4</sup> Freely, as a result of the freedom from evil and fever, they are well now, and the prayer is directed toward the future.

<sup>5</sup> Guard or charm.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot explain the presence of the vowel *u* at the beginning of the form. The form seems to be imperative.

upate **tšakwil**. **Ma a siptik**<sup>1</sup> **unäktantik**  
 to) cease fever. Do not injure (by having) trample him under  
**yahil**. **Ma a siptik** **unäktantik**  
 foot evil. Do not injure (by having) trample him under foot  
**tšakwil**. **Ma a siptik** **utšibite** **kan**  
 fever. Do not injure (by having) bite him (my son) the serpent  
 in pal.<sup>2</sup> **Ma a siptik** **ukimin**. **Tu ku bašal**  
 my son. Do not injure (by sending) death. He is playing,  
 in pal.<sup>3</sup> **Tšihl** **ku ɔaik tetš** **tšula**  
 my son. When he is grown up, he will give you an offering of  
**ku ɔaik tetš** **pom**. **Tšihl**  
*posol*, he will give you an offering of *copal*. When he is grown  
**ku ɔaik tetš** **wa**. **Tšihl**  
 up, he will give you an offering of *tortillas*. When he is grown  
**ku ɔaik tetš** **huun**.<sup>4,5</sup> **Tšihl**  
 up, he will give you an offering of fillets. When he is grown  
**ku** **qas** **etš**.<sup>6</sup>  
 up, he will sacrifice to you.

## No. 15

A *xicara* of *posol* distributed to each of the participants

**Kulen**, **wuk**<sup>7</sup> **in** **tšula** **tetš**.  
 Sit down, drink my offering of *posol* to you.

## No. 16

Individual offering of a particle of the gift of *posol*

**Tal u hol**, **tetš in Yume**, **in** **tšula**  
 (Here) comes its top to you, my father, my offering of *posol*

<sup>1</sup> The imperative does not seem to be used with **ma** when it has the idea of prohibition. This is all in the second person and is addressed to the god. Freely, do not allow evil to trample him (my son) under foot. In Chant No. 13, **maunäktantik** is in the third person. Freely, may evil not trample (my sons) under foot.

<sup>2</sup> The usual order in Maya is verb, subject, object.

<sup>3</sup> The noun subject following the verb and in apposition to the pronoun expressed in the verb is common in Maya.

<sup>4</sup> **Huun**, literally, is paper. It is used to designate the bark pounded out thin and used as fillets.

<sup>5</sup> The whole range of offerings is often mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> The chant used over the other members of the family does not differ greatly from that given over the son.

<sup>7</sup> In Yucatan the imperative would drop the **w**.

tetš tial yol in palal. tal u hol tetš,  
to you for the health (of) my sons. (Here) comes its top to you,  
in yume, tial yol in watan.  
my father, for the health (of) my wife.

No. 17

Chant given during the fermentation of the ceremonial drink

Samea<sup>1</sup> hule<sup>2</sup> tin qer,<sup>3</sup> samea<sup>1</sup>  
The wood of the baltše pass over my hands, the wood of the  
hule<sup>2</sup> tin wok. Ten wa bolenki.  
baltše pass over my feet. I am the one who carries out the office  
Ten wa ipalenki.  
of the first priest. I am the one who carries out the office of  
Ten tulin tšake. Ten  
the second priest. I am the one chosen to warm it. I am the  
tulin lokbanse.<sup>4</sup> Ten tulin pikutš<sup>5</sup>  
one chosen to cause it to boil. I am the one chosen to stir it  
yete tšakau.<sup>6</sup> Tin walki.<sup>7</sup> Ten tin  
with a stick. I am mixing it. I am the one who causes it  
lokbanse. Ten wa bolen.  
to boil. I am the one who carries out the office of the first  
Ten wa ipalen.  
priest. I am the one who carries out the office of the second  
He in qake yašiko, larti<sup>8</sup> malu<sup>9</sup> qinam.  
priest. I will cure it (with) green *chili*, this relieves the pain.  
He in qake yaštšawa,<sup>10</sup> larti baila tu tšital.<sup>11</sup>  
I will cure it (with) "indian *chili*," this thus causes one to lie  
down.

<sup>1</sup> This is the name given to the tree the bark of which is called *baltše*, and from the latter the ceremonial drink is made.

<sup>2</sup> *Hul* is the root of the verb used when one is described as putting on his coat, *hulik tin qer*, or trousers, *hulik tin wok*. The idea is of passing something over the hands and the feet.

<sup>3</sup> See Chant 3, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Labanse* is equal to *lokbanse* and is translated freely by the word ferment.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, to press away with the bottom of the foot.

<sup>6</sup> *Tšakau* is the wood called "*palo mulatto*."

<sup>7</sup> *Walki* is equivalent to *waltik*, to place that which is below above, to stir.

<sup>8</sup> *Larti* is equivalent to *lerti*.

<sup>9</sup> *Malu*, literally, "goodens."

<sup>10</sup> A particle of the different kinds of *chili* is thrown into the *baltše* as it is in the process of fermentation. Each is supposed to free the liquid of an evil effect coming as a result of drinking large quantities.

<sup>11</sup> There then follows a prayer to protect the fermenting liquor as it lies in the open log from the wasps and bees of all kinds who might come and drink some of the *baltše*. This is considered to be especially displeasing to the gods and consequently harmful to men.

## No. 18

Purification of the ceremonial drink contained in the hollow log

Torpen!<sup>1</sup> Torp! Ten tin tšistal,<sup>2</sup> tšis  
Break! Break! I am making incense, incense (beside?) the  
tšen<sup>3</sup> (be). Torpen! Torp! Ten tin malu šehi.<sup>4</sup>  
hollow log. Break! Break! I am the one who relieves the vomit.  
Ten tin malu uyelaholal. Ten tin  
I am the one who relieves the burning headache. I am the one  
ma uqu<sup>5</sup> utše utšem.<sup>6</sup>  
who does not permit to get wet the sticks of the hollow log.  
Ten tin malu hup nak.<sup>7</sup>  
I am the one who makes good the movements of the bowels.

## No. 19

Purification of the nodules of *copal*

Torpen! Torp!<sup>8</sup> In kinti.<sup>9</sup> Kušleno!  
Break! Break! I am half warming (you). Be alive!  
Ahen!<sup>10</sup> Ma (ba) ka wenen amerte. Ten tin wasa  
Awake! Do not sleep (but) work. I am the one who awakened

<sup>1</sup> The idea is for the heat of the *copal* burned in the bark to cause the grains of corn heated in the fire to burst. The same word is used to describe the breaking of an eggshell by the newly born chicken.

<sup>2</sup> *Tšistal* is equivalent to *pultal*.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, *tšem* is *cayuco*, the Spanish name given to the dugout canoes, which the hollow logs for holding the *baltše* greatly resemble.

<sup>4</sup> The purification rite is supposed to free the ceremonial drink from all the evil effects coming as a consequence of drinking large quantities.

<sup>5</sup> The root *qu* or *qul* is equivalent to *tšul*, to wetten.

<sup>6</sup> Great care is taken not to wet the cross sticks (*tšeutšem*) placed along the open top of the hollow log to prevent the covering of palm leaves falling into the contents of the log.

<sup>7</sup> There then follows a prayer that there be no constipation and a plea for the release from any other evil effects. *Kisin*, the inhabitant of the under world, is placated so that he will not become angry at having left on any portion of the ground the refuse of the body.

<sup>8</sup> Grains of corn are heated in the same way as in the purifying rite over the open log of *baltše*. See note 1, Chant No. 18.

<sup>9</sup> This and all that follows is addressed to the nodules of *copal*.

<sup>10</sup> I cannot explain the final *o* on these forms. There are many cases where there are additional sounds added to a form which cannot readily be explained. In other cases, sounds seem to be dropped. In the preceding word (*kinti*) the form would, according to the Maya of Yucatan, have a final *k* sound.

**kutal. Ten tin lisa<sup>1</sup> , kutal tuyok**  
 (you) to life. I am the one who raised (you) up to life above  
**šikal.<sup>2</sup> Ten tin kuštinta. Ten tin**  
 the board. I am the one who reanimated (you). I am the one  
**was a kutal. Ten tin lisa**  
 who awakened (you) to life. I am the one who raised (you)  
**kutal. Ten tin tāku baker. Ten**  
 up to life. I am the one who built up the skeleton. I am  
**tin tāku hol. Ten tin tāku**  
 the one who built up the head. I am the one who built up the  
**satot. Ten tin tāku tamen. Utšnanetš<sup>3</sup>**  
 lungs. I am the one who built up the liver. For you an  
**napdīl.<sup>4</sup> Utšnanetš wiqbīl.<sup>4</sup> Ten tin**  
 offering of *baltše*. For you an offering of *baltše*. I am the one  
**lisa kutal. Kušleno! Ahenō!**  
 who raised (you) up to life. Awake! Be alive!

## No. 20

An offering of *baltše* and *cacao* placed before the *braseros*

**Tan in nasik in ha<sup>5</sup> tetš yetel u šau.**  
 I am raising up my offering of *baltše* to you with its *cacao*.  
**Tan in paik tetš in ha tiala kubik tik**  
 I am giving you my offering of *baltše* for you to restore it to the  
**yum. Tan in paik tetš in ha tiala tīlīl.<sup>6</sup>**  
 father. I am giving you my offering of *posol* for you yourself.

## No. 21

An offering of bark fillets to the gods

**Hšla tšao huunki. Tin latš kuntik ta<sup>7</sup> hol**  
 Now accept the fillet. I am binding it around your head,  
**uhel a kunya tiala kunik in palal. Tšihī,**  
 again for your welfare for you to guard my sons. When they

<sup>1</sup> *Lis* is the root of the verb meaning to pile up, and explains the process of making the nodules. The idea is that each is constructed similar to the human body with all of its organs.

<sup>2</sup> *Šikal* is the flat board on which the nodules rest.

<sup>3</sup> *Utšnanetš* is equivalent to *utšlaletš* and *atšlīl*.

<sup>4</sup> These two terms are the names of special offerings of *baltše*. See p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, water. This is the term given in the chants to an offering of *baltše*.

<sup>6</sup> This chant follows No. 5 very closely.

<sup>7</sup> The *t* has a prepositional value and is not part of the possessive.



in palal, ku qas etš. Tšae  
 are grown up, my sons, they will sacrifice to you. Accept the  
 huunki<sup>1</sup> tiala kubtik yum. Tin latš kuntik  
 fillets in order to restore it to the father. I am binding it around  
 ta hol tial kunik in watan u mertik maao, u mertik  
 your head for you to guard my wife who makes *posol*, who makes  
 wa.  
*tortillas*.

## No. 22

Baltše administered to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

Ha<sup>2</sup> tan in lutšik ta tšī.  
 An offering of baltše I am dipping out upon your mouth.  
 Tan in oalktetš ha uhel a kunya  
 I am giving you an offering of baltše again for your welfare  
 tiala kubtik yum. Ha tan in  
 for you to restore it to the father. An offering of baltše I am  
 lutšik ta tšī tiala tšili, tiala tal  
 dipping out upon your mouth for you yourself, for you to come  
 awilik. Emen, ile. Tan in bortiketš. Ha  
 and see. Come down, observe. I am paying you. An offering  
 tan in lutšik ta tšī tiala wukik,  
 of baltše I am dipping out upon your mouth for you to drink,  
 uhel a kunya. Ha tan in oalk tetš  
 again for your welfare. An offering of baltše I am giving you  
 ta tšī, uhel a kunya. Ukuštal in,  
 on your mouth, again for your welfare. Are enjoying life, my  
 palal. ha tan in oalk tetš. Ukuštal  
 sons. An offering of baltše I am giving you. Is enjoying life,  
 in watan. Ha tan in oalk tetš ta tšī  
 my wife. An offering of baltše I am giving you on your mouth  
 uhel a kunya. In kuštal tšiken in qas  
 again for your welfare. I am enjoying life I alone I sacrifice  
 etš.<sup>3</sup>  
 to you.

<sup>1</sup> The spirit of the *brasero* is addressed, and, as usual, asked to restore the offering to the god to whom he is dependent.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 179, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> There is a part following which is the same as the last part of Chant No. 7, with the change of the word *tšula* to *ha*.

## No. 23

An offering of *baltše* at the east of the sacred hut

(This is the same as Chant No. 9, with the change of the word *tšula* to *ha*.)

## No. 24

A *jacara* of *baltše* distributed to each of the participants

(This is the same as Chant No. 15, with the change of the word *tšula* to *ha* or *pokba*.)

## No. 25

Answer of those receiving the gift of *baltše*

**Bai, hen wukike ketš.**

Yes, I will drink to you.

## No. 26

A *jacara* of *baltše* given to each of the members of the family of the leader of the rite

**Uken!**

Drink! (The answer is simply **Bai**, yes.)

## No. 27

Individual offering of a small portion of the gift of *baltše*

(This is the same as Chant No. 16, with the change of the word *tšula* to *ha*.)

No. 28<sup>1</sup>

**Buliwa** offered to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

<b>Tiba</b>	<b>buliwa,</b>	<b>norwa,</b>
In person, (accept) the offering of <i>tamales</i> , the offering of thick		
<b>heretšwa,</b> <sup>2</sup>	<b>baha</b>	<b>heretšwati,</b> <sup>3</sup>
<i>tortillas</i> , the offering of <i>tortillas</i> , many an offering of <i>tortillas</i> ,		
<b>yumbiliwati,</b>	<b>qubiliwati,</b> <sup>4</sup>	
an offering of <i>tortillas</i> folded in leaves, an offering of thick		

<sup>1</sup> In the chants which are characterized by a slow delivery there is an almost total absence of grammatical structure. (See p. 130.)

<sup>2</sup> **Heretš** is equivalent to **hurutš**, from **hutš**, to grind.

<sup>3</sup> Syllables are often added to fill out the measure.

<sup>4</sup> These are all terms for different combinations of offerings of corn.

**kakotäwa,**

*tortillas* folded in leaves, *tortillas* divided in halves, *tortillas*  
**oäkotäwa**                      **bahuntqin,**                      **bahunthaap.**  
 divided in thirds, for many days, for many years (have I offered  
 them).

## No. 29

**Baltäe** offered to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

**Tiba**                      **norkite,**                      **ba**                      **norkite,**  
 In person receive with pleasure, thus receive with pleasure,  
**ba natäo**    **boki,**    **ba natäo**    **bukarutäki**<sup>1</sup>                      **norkite,**  
 thus far is the odor, thus far is the odor of vanilla, receive with  
    **umanen**                      **etä**                      **kuästal.**<sup>2</sup>  
 pleasure, causes it to come to you the fact of its being alive.  
**Umanen**                      **etä**                      **iq,**                      **bahuntqin**                      **bahunt**  
 Causes it to come to you the wind, for many days, for many  
**haap.**                      **Umanen**                      **etä**                      **kuästal**  
 years. Causes it to come to you the fact of its being alive,  
    **umanen**                      **etä**                      **iq.**                      **Norkite**  
 causes it to come to you the wind. Receive with pleasure,  
**ba natäo**                      **bukarutä,**                      **ba natäo**                      **boki.**<sup>3</sup>  
 thus far is the odor of vanilla, thus far is the odor.

## No. 30

The nodules of *copal* about to be offered to the gods

**Bininka**    **nasik**    **in**    **sil.**  
 I am going to raise up my gifts.

## No. 31

The nodules of *copal* offered at the east of the ceremonial hut

**Tan in nasik**                      **in sil**    **tetä**    **tial a**    **wemen**                      **awilik in**  
 I am raising up my gifts to you for you to descend and see my  
**sil.**<sup>4</sup>    **Tan in**                      **titäik**                      **tetä**    **in sil tial a**  
 gifts. I am holding in my hands to you my gifts for you  
**wemen**                      **awilik**                      **akänik.**  
 to descend and see and learn.

<sup>1</sup> The pod of the vanilla bean is added to the **baltäe** during fermentation.

<sup>2</sup> After fermentation sets in the **baltäe** is supposed to have life.

<sup>3</sup> There follow several words which are incapable of translation.

<sup>4</sup> **Bahonqu** is often added at this place. This term is applied to the gods taken collectively.

## No. 32

The nodules of *copal* offered to the *braseros* inside the ceremonial hut in behalf of the gods

Tiba,                      yan                      šikalki                      tulis kisanki<sup>1</sup>  
 In person (accept), here is the board of nodules full of ?  
 tulis                      qiqi.                      Yan                      šikalki  
 full of the gum of the rubber tree. Here is the board of nodules  
 tulis kisanki, tulis                      qiqi                      suhuiqinki,<sup>2</sup>  
 full of ? full of the gum of the rubber tree, at daybreak,  
 suhuiqerki,<sup>3</sup>                      selepqinki,<sup>4</sup>                      selepaqerki,  
 at the beginning of night, in the afternoon, in the early morning,  
 emennasbinqinki,<sup>5</sup>                      emennasbinaqerki,  
 the sun in its course from east to west, the night in its course,  
 tsuyupqinki,<sup>6</sup> tsuyupaqerki,                      selepqinki,                      selepaqerki,  
 at midday, at midnight, in the afternoon, in the early morning,  
 suhuiqinki,                      suhuiqerki,                      bibiskanki<sup>7</sup> bibismuyal,  
 at daybreak, at the beginning of night, alternation of sun and  
 bahunthqinki,                      bahunthaap.                      Suhuiqinki,  
 shade, for many days, for many years. At daybreak, at the  
 suhuiqerki,                      selepqinki,                      selepaqerki,  
 beginning of night, in the afternoon, in the early morning,  
 tulis kisanki, tulis                      qiqi,                      wol ismatan.  
 full of ? full of the gum of the rubber tree, health is your  
 Tikukinta                      yoko                      yok,  
 gift (your right). I made them to sit down on (their) feet,  
 šikalki.  
 (on) the board.

## No. 33

The nodules of *copal* distributed in the *braseros*

(The chant is the same as the first part of No. 5. The word *pom* is changed to *šil*, gifts. The former word is used only when the *copal* is in rough lumps.)

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *kisan* is not clear. The final syllable *ki* is the same as that added to many other words to fill out the measure, and has no meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, virgin day.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, virgin night. *Aqer* is equivalent to *aqab*, as *qer*, hand, is the same as *qab*.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, the sun on one side.

<sup>5</sup> A more correct form would be *naksemenbinqin*, the sun in its ascending and descending course.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, the sun suspended.

<sup>7</sup> *Bibis* means to widen. The idea is that the heavens (*kan*) appear and then disappear, owing to the clouds (*muyal*).

## No. 34

An offering of meat placed before the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

Tan in kubik in tut etš tial a kubik  
I am restoring my offering of meat to you for you to restore it  
tik yum, tial a nasik tik yum. Tan in çalik  
to the father, for you to carry it up to the father. I am giving it  
tetš uhel a kunya, tial a tšili in tut  
to you again for your welfare, for you yourself my offering of  
etš.  
meat to you.

## No. 35

A potion of the ceremonial drink given to the leader

Tan in titšik tial a wukik uhel a  
I am holding it in my hands for you to drink again for your  
kunya.  
welfare.

## No. 36

A gift of meat offered to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

Tiba, in tutal. In çamati  
In person (accept) my offering of meat. I gave it to you in  
ututal, pokbaki,<sup>1</sup> in Yumki,  
the past the offering of meat, the cooked offering, my father,  
bahuntqin, bahunthaap, heretšbäk heretšseep,<sup>2</sup> tšukutš  
for many days, for many years, ground meat, fine *posol*, cooked  
bäk, heretšbäk, heretšseep.<sup>3</sup> Ba ututal, ba  
meat, ground meat, fine *posol*. This, the offering of meat, this,  
ututal, in Yumki, bahuntqin, bahunthaap.  
the offering of meat, my father, for many days, for many years.  
Umana bahuntqin, umana bahunthaap.<sup>4</sup>  
Many days are coming, many years are coming.

## No. 37

An offering of meat and *buliwa* administered to the *braseros*

Tan in lapik ta tšil, Yume, in norwa<sup>5</sup>  
I am placing upon your mouth, O father, my offering of

<sup>1</sup> Literally, the offering warmed or the thing warmed.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, the corn ground fine for *posol*.

<sup>3</sup> *Seep* is equivalent to *qeyen*.

<sup>4</sup> The idea is, I have done this for many days and many years in the past, and I will make the offering many days and many years in the future.

<sup>5</sup> The term *buliwa* is seldom used in the chants. *Norwa* is used in its place.

tetš, in tut, uhel a kunya,  
*tamales* to you, my offering of meat, again for your welfare,  
 in norwa tetš, in tut (t)etš, Yum, ----  
 my offering of *tamales* to you, my offering of meat to you, ----,  
 tan in paik tetš in norwa tetš,<sup>1</sup> in tut  
 I am giving you my offering of *tamales* to you, my offering of  
 etš, uhel a kunya,<sup>2</sup> uhel ukuštal in palal,<sup>3</sup>  
 meat to you, again for your welfare, again are living my sons,  
 uhel ukuštal in lak.  
 again are living my wife.

## No. 38

The offering of meat and *buliwa* presented at the east of the ceremonial hut

Tal uhel in tut (t)etš, in  
 (Here) comes the top of my offering of meat to you, my offer-  
 ing of *tamales* to you, O father. Take my offering of meat to  
 norwa tetš, Yume. Tšae in tut  
 (t)etš in norwa tetš, tial u kuštal  
 you, my offering of *tamales* to you, in behalf of them, enjoying  
 in palal, tial u kuštal, in watan, umertik  
 life, my sons, in behalf of her, enjoying life, my wife, who makes  
 maao, umertik wa.  
*posol*, who makes *tortillas*.

## No. 39

The offering of meat and *buliwa* distributed to the participants

Tan in paik tetš humpe lek<sup>4</sup> tut uhel a kunya.  
 I am giving to you one vessel of meat again for your welfare.  
 Tan in paik tetš humpe lek norwa uhel a kunya.  
 I am giving you one vessel of *tamales* again for your welfare.

## No. 40

Individual offering of a particle of the gift of meat and *buliwa*

Tal u hol tetš in norwa tetš  
 (Here) comes its top to you my offering of *tamales* to you,  
 Yume. Tal u hol tetš in tut  
 O father. (Here) comes its top to you my offering of meat  
 (t)etš, Yume.  
 to you, O father.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, I am giving it to you, my offering, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is, for your added welfare.

<sup>3</sup> This is difficult to translate. The meaning is, cause my sons to have an added allotment of life.

<sup>4</sup> *Lek* is a vessel made of the *calabasa*, a squashlike vegetable.

## No. 41

The last offering of *posol* to the old *braseros*

He kin lutšik ta tšī in tšula tetš.  
 I will dip out upon your mouth my offering of *posol* to you.  
 He kin lutšik itšil a lăkil<sup>1</sup> in tšula tetš tial a  
 I will dip out into your *olla* my offering of *posol* to you for you  
 nakal kulul ta tšak.<sup>2</sup> ʔoki  
 to climb and sit down upon your resting place. It is ended  
 a šau. ʔoki a tšula.  
 your offering of *cacao*. It is ended your offering of *posol*.  
 ʔokin qas etš. ookin bortik etš.  
 I have finished sacrificing to you. I have finished paying you  
 (with offerings).

## No. 42

The old *braseros* cleaned and the idols removed

Bin in kin oatšē taho tšuk.<sup>3</sup> Yume. Baka  
 I am going to clean by removing the ash, O father. All the  
 tin tatatšetik ušan<sup>4</sup> in na tetš.  
 time I am digging with a stick the palm leaves, my house for you.

## No. 43

The first offering made to the new *braseros* and the idols placed inside the bowls

Il, in lutšik ta tšī, Yume, qam-  
 See, I am dipping out upon your mouth, O father, the first  
 ki. Il, in lutšik ta tšī tetš  
 offering. See, I am dipping out upon your mouth to you the  
 qamki uhel a kunya yokol a tumu lăk.  
 first offering again for your welfare within your new *olla*.  
 Tin qapkuntik u šan, in (n)a<sup>5</sup> tetš, Yume.  
 I place it (the idol) inside its palms, my house to you, O father.

<sup>1</sup> A particle of the offering of *posol* is placed inside the *olla* at this time.

<sup>2</sup> *Tšak*, literally bed, is the name given to the shelf where the *braseros* are kept when a rite is not in progress. In this chant the word refers to the rock on which the old and dead *braseros* are placed at the end of the renewal ceremony.

<sup>3</sup> This is the *copal* ash of the previous sacrifices.

<sup>4</sup> The idea seems to be that the *copal* corresponds to the palms (*šan*) covering a house in that the ash protects the idol within.

<sup>5</sup> The house refers to the new *olla*, the resting place of the idol.

ʔ, in pulik yokol utumu lāk, Yume.  
 See, I am placing it (the idol) inside the new *olla*, O father.  
 ʔ, in masak u šan, in (n)a tetš yokol utumu  
 See, I am changing its palms, my house for you within the new  
 lāk. ʔ, in bortik etš uhel a  
*olla*. See, I am paying you (with offerings) again for your  
 kunya. ʔ, in bortik etš yokol a  
 welfare. See, I am paying you (with offerings) within your  
 tumu lāk uhel a kunya. Tin wala tetški.<sup>1</sup> ʔ,  
 new *olla* again for your welfare. I promised you (this). See,  
 in ʔaik tetš qiqi yokol  
 I give you an offering of the gum of the rubber tree within the  
 utumu lāk. ʔ in ʔaik tetš yokol a tumu lāk napdil,  
 new *olla*. See, I give you within your new *olla* an offering of  
 a matanki, uhel a kunya. Huun tin latšikuntik  
 baltše, your gift, again for your welfare. Fillets I bind around  
 ta hol yokol utumu lāk, uhel a kunya, yetel  
 your head within the new *olla*, again for your welfare, with  
 kab. Tikinnawa, in bortik etš. In kibasik  
 honey. Totopostle, I am paying you. My offering of baltše  
 etš, hen bortiketše yokol a tumu lāk uhel a  
 to you, I will pay you within your new *olla* again for your  
 kunya.<sup>2</sup>  
 welfare.

## No. 44

An offering of *posol* to the new *braseros* in behalf of the gods

Tan in nasik in tšula tetš. Koten ilik  
 I am raising up my offering of *posol* to you. Come and see  
 a lākil. Emen ilik a lākil, Yume.<sup>3</sup> Kuš,  
 your *olla*. Come down and see your *olla*, O father. Live, O  
 lāk, in qas etš.  
*olla*, I sacrifice to you.

## No. 45

An offering of *baltše* administered to each of the *braseritos*

(The chant follows the first part of No. 22. The *braseritos*  
 are called *sil*, gifts, in *sil tetš*, my gifts to you. This is the

<sup>1</sup> Literally, I told it to you.

<sup>2</sup> There often follows a promise to make other offerings.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the god to whom the *braserito* belongs is often added after the title *Yume*. This is true in all the other chants.



same name given to the nodules of *copal*, and both play the part of servants.)

## No. 46

An offering of *baltše* given to the ceremonial jar

He kin            lutšik            ta            tšī,    in    balki,  
I am about to dip out upon your mouth, my great *olla*, a small  
uqimalu            a matan.  
offering of *baltše*, your gift.

## No. 47

A gift of tobacco given to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

He la kuq, tin paik    tetš, u hol,<sup>1</sup> Yume.    Qas<sup>2</sup>  
Here is tobacco, I give it to you, its top, O father. A cigar,  
tu in ouqthe,    Yume.  
then, I will smoke, O father.

## No. 48

A gift of *posol* offered to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

Tiba<sup>3</sup>            in            tšula.            Ba            tšula.  
In person (accept) my offering of *posol*. Thus, the offering  
Bahuntqin,            bahuntaap,            umanabahuntqin,  
of *posol*. For many days, for many years, many days are coming,  
umanabahunthaap.<sup>4</sup>    Tiba,            tšulaki.  
many years are coming. In person, (accept) the offering of *posol*.

## No. 49

A gift of *frejoles* offered to the *braseros* in behalf of the gods

He, u hol,<sup>5</sup> a buul tin paik tetš, Yume. He in  
Here, its top, your *frejoles* I give to you, O father. I will  
hantike.  
(afterwards) eat them.

## No. 50

A gift of *frejoles* and *tamales* administered to the *braseros*

(The chant is the same as that used when the meat and the *buliwa* are administered (No. 37), with the change of *intutetš* to *inbuultetš*.)

<sup>1</sup> The *hol* refers to the first tobacco of the year.

<sup>2</sup> *Qas*, literally, is bundle.

<sup>3</sup> This chant is delivered slowly and is the same in character as that given when the nodules of *copal* are presented to the *braseros* inside the sacred hut (No. 32).

<sup>4</sup> See Chant No. 36, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> See Chant No. 47, note 1. The *frejoles* are the first of the season.

No. 51

The chant used when a journey is to be undertaken

Ma      utšibal      kan,      ma  
 Do not permit to bite (him) the serpent, do not permit to  
 utšibal      balum.      Tukubin      -----<sup>1</sup>      Ma  
 bite (him) the tiger.      He is going -----      Do not permit to  
 ukanan      yok.      Ma      ula      tšetik  
 be tired the feet.      Do not permit the bottom of the foot, to cut,  
 utšuntše.<sup>2</sup>  
 a sharp stick.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the person is inserted at this place.

<sup>2</sup> There often follows a prayer for freedom from fever and other hardships.  
 (See Chant No. 14.)



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FIG. 1. — Usumacinta River, seven leagues above Tenosique, looking southward.



FIG. 2. — Usumacinta River, seven leagues above Tenosique, looking northward.





FIG. 1. — The grand cenote at Chichen Itza, Yucatan.



FIG. 2. — Lacandone woman carrying child on hip.







FIG. 1. — Group of Lacandones near Laguna Petha, Chiapas.



FIG. 2. — Group of Lacandones on the Lacantun River.





FIG. 2.—A Lacandone mother and male child, showing the native dress, the method of wearing the hair, and the necklaces worn by the women.



FIG. 1.—Fiber dress of the Lacandones.





FIG. 1.—Lacandone boy and girl, showing the method of dressing the children.



FIG. 2.—Two Maya women and child, showing the costume of the women.





FIG. 1.—Maya at the Temple of the Tables, Chichen Itza.



FIG. 2.—Two Mayas in working costume, from the vicinity of Valladolid, Yucatan.







FIG. 1.— A typical settlement of the Lacandones, showing the huts almost hidden in the growing corn. The roof in the foreground is that of the ceremonial hut, and directly behind that of the shelter, where the offerings are prepared. The roof at the left is that of the domestic house. The view is from the east.



FIG. 2.— A view of the same settlement as that shown in Fig. 1 from the south, showing the character of the forest surrounding the portion cleared.



FIG. 3.— A typical shelter among the Lacandones, showing the open ends and the manner in which the sides are protected by the overhanging roof.





FIG. 1. — Maya woman grinding corn with stone *metate*.



FIG. 2. — Maya woman molding and baking *tortillas*.





FIG. 1.—Lacandone shooting with native bow and arrow.



FIG. 2.—Lacandone youth shooting fish with bow and arrow from the end of a canoe.





FIG. 1.—Lacandone woman spinning the native cotton. The spindle rests in a gourd and the mass of crude cotton rests on the shoulder.



FIG. 2.—Lacandone woman beginning the weaving of a piece of cloth on the native loom.







FIG. 1.—Lacandone loom, with utensils for weaving.

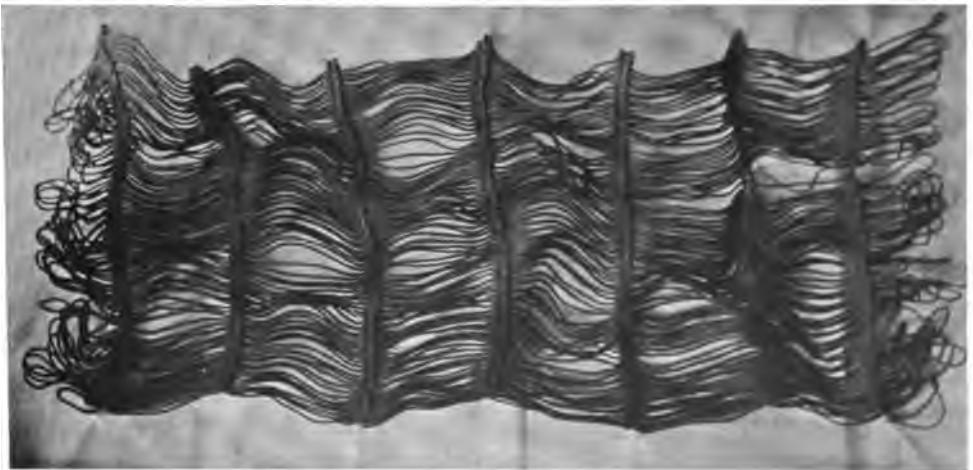


FIG. 2.—Portion of Lacandone hammock.





**FIGS. 1 AND 2.** — The front and rear view of the ceremonial robe worn by the leader of the encampment where most of the rites were observed. He carries in his right hand the ceremonial rattle.



**FIG. 3.** — Maya woman modeling a water jar, showing the method of turning the vessel with the foot.





FIG. 1. — Lacandone shell necklace.



FIG. 2. — *Olla* used to place over the burning  
*copal* in which to catch the soot.

FIG. 3. — Lacandone oboe.



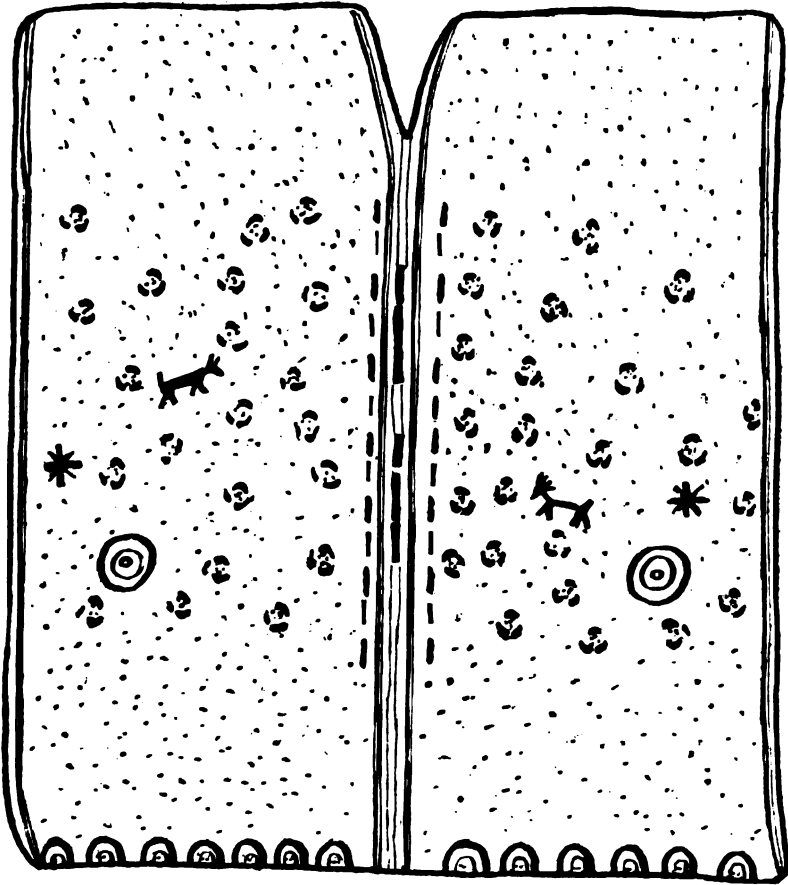


FIG. 1. — Design in black, red, and blue on ceremonial robe.



FIG. 2. — Typical Lacandonese incense-burner of the type found in the vicinity of Lake Petha, Chiapas.







FIG. 1. — Incense-burner found in ruins of Labna, Yucatan.



FIG. 2. — Incense-burner from the Island of Cozumel, off the eastern coast of Yucatan.



FIG. 3. — Incense-burner from the Hondo River.



FIG. 5. — Lacandone incense-burner, the exact locality of which is unknown.



FIG. 4. — Incense-burner from the Hondo River.





FIG. 1. — Incense-burner from Zachila, Oaxaca.



FIG. 2. — Head of an incense-burner of the type usually found to the south and east of Yaxchilan.



FIG. 3. — Head of an incense-burner of the type usually found to the south and east of Yaxchilan.



FIG. 4. — Incense-burner of the southern Yaxchilan type.



FIG. 5. — Incised incense-burner.





FIG. 1.— Mayas dancing.



FIG. 2.— Lacandone chanting before two *braseritos* in a consecration rite.  
The remains of an offering of food is seen on the mouths.





FIG. 1. — Animal of clay made by the Lacandones and now used by the children as a plaything. The real function of the bowl on the back of the animal is a receptacle for holding the incense.



FIG. 2. — Lacandone incense-burner of the smallest type, used by the father in instructing the boys concerning the observances of the religious rites and especially in that of chanting. It is used, within certain bounds, by the children as a plaything.

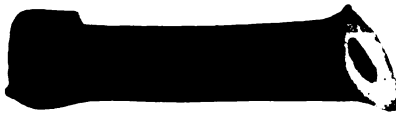


FIG. 3. — Arm from a handled incense-burner from the Ulloa River, Honduras.



FIG. 4. — Wooden beater for pounding out bark cloth.







FIG. 1.— Group of incense-burners from the northeast corner of the ceremonial hut. The *braseiro* with the projecting arm is seen in the front row. The flat board for offering the nodules of *copal* is in the background. The hammock in the foreground is the one in which the leader of the encampment sleeps during the progress of the renewal rites.



FIG. 2.— Ceremonial drum of the Lacandones, showing the head similar to those of the *braseros* and the method of attaching and tightening the head of the drum.



FIG. 3.— Lacandone chanting before the old incense-burners to which an offering of *posol* contained in the gourds had been made. The carpet of leaves on which the *braseros* and the offering rest is seen. This rite is before the "death" of the old *ollas*, when they are replaced by a new set together with a large number of *braseritos*. These old incense bowls are blackened by the smoke of many offerings of incense.





FIG. 1.— A typical incense-burner of the Lacandones, with its offering of *baltie* contained in the gourd, together with a cigar made of the first tobacco of the year. The palm leaves in front of the *brasero* are those used to wave in the smoke of the incense at the same time as a chant is in progress.



FIG. 2.— Lacandone, with palm leaves, chanting in behalf of the child before him. The bark fillet is also seen around his head.





FIG. 1.— Lacandone youth with his share of an offering of *posol* after it had been administered to the gods.



FIG. 2.— Lacandone pounding the sugar-cane to extract the juice in one of the hollow logs in which the ceremonial drink is mixed. The log covered with palm leaves on the extreme right is that in which the *baltse* is allowed to ferment.



FIG. 3.— The two hollow logs containing the ceremonial drink. That on the right is uncovered and shows the *baltse* in process of fermentation. In front of the log slightly to the left is the jar which is filled with *baltse* from the log, and from which the gourds are filled.



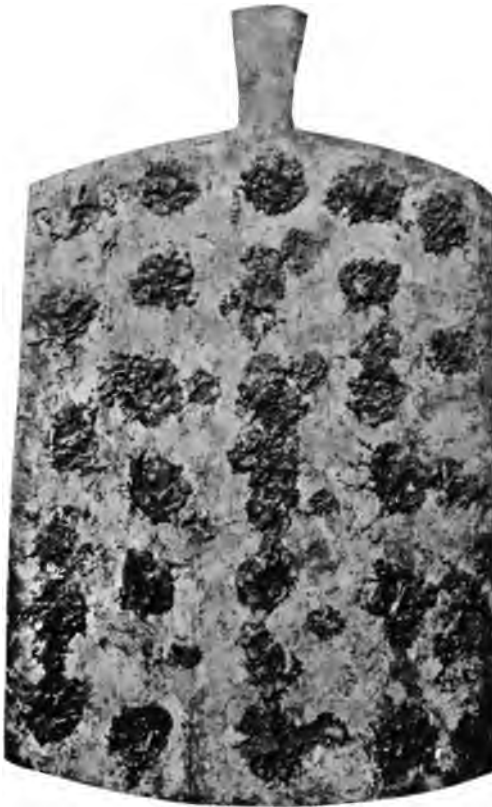


FIG. 1. — Board on which nodules of *copal* are offered to the gods in a body before being taken off and distributed in the incense-burners. Collected by Mr. Maler.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

FIGS. 2 AND 3. — Nodules of *copal* found in connection with archæological work in northern Yucatan.







FIG. 1.—A leader in one of the Lacandone rites sitting on the low wooden stool behind the jar containing the ceremonial drink, with which he is filling the gourds to place before the incense-burners.



FIG. 2.—Jar containing *baltse*, with the low seat of the leader directly behind it and the *jicaras* to be filled with the ceremonial drink. The ceremonial band of bark is seen around the jar. The cloth on the top is that used in straining the *baltse*.



FIG. 3.—Lacandone offering the board of nodules of *copal* at the east of the ceremonial hut.





**FIG. 1.—Lacandone with slain monkey, the meat of which is about to be offered to the gods.**



**FIG. 2.—Lacandone making ceremonial fire.**





FIG. 1. — Lacandone, showing *poncho* spotted with *achiote* and the ceremonial band of bark around his head.



FIG. 2. — Group of incense-burners (*braseros* and *braseritos*) from the northwest corner of the sacred hut. The ceremonial drum is seen at the left of the post.





FIG. 1. — Group of incense-burners from the south, showing the round gourds containing an offering of *baltœ* and flat vessels containing *buliwa*. The ceremonial drum is seen in the background at the left.



FIG. 2. — Lacandonese with carrying nets containing the "dead" incense-burners which they are carrying to deposit under a cliff.







Three of the fifteen figures once supporting an altar which stood at the entrance of the Upper Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers, Chichen Itza. These and similar figures are supposed to represent the **Saiyamwinkoob**, who lived in the first period of the existence of the world.





FIG. 1. — Three Maya brothers offering nine gourds of *posol* in their *milpa* to the spirits of the wind.



FIG. 2. — The owner of the *milpa* offering the nine *jicarás* of *posol*, showing the cross set up under the line of gourds.



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REPORT OF THE FELLOW IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY  
1902-1905

## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MAYAS AND ~~THE~~ LACANDONES

BY

ALFRED M. TOZZER, PH.D.



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